

183

PA6004.N3 1969

Nairn John Arbuthnot Authors of Rome

3 0418 00052815 6

6004

.N3

Authors of Rome

1969

~~DEC 07 1983~~



0165 01 219352 01 4 (IC=1)
NAIRN, JOHN ARBUTHNOT
AUTHORS OF ROME
(2) 1969 PA6004.N31969 \$10.50

Onondaga Community College
Syracuse, New York



PRINTED IN U.S.A.

AUTHORS OF ROME

AUTHORS OF ROME

By JOHN ARBUTHNOT NAIRN, LITT.D., B.D., 1874-

With an Introduction by
J. W. MACKAIL, LL.D.,

KENNIKAT PRESS
Port Washington, N. Y./London

The Sidney B. Coulter Library
Onondaga Community College
Rte. 173, Onondaga Hill
Onondaga, New York 13325

AUTHORS OF ROME

First published in 1924

Reissued in 1969 by Kennikat Press

Library of Congress Catalog Card No: 70-101050

SBN 8046-0715-X

Manufactured by Taylor Publishing Company Dallas, Texas

KENNIKAT CLASSICS SERIES

FILIÆ CARISSIMÆ
HARUM LITTERARUM FAUTRICI
LIMINA GIRTONENSIA
JAM JAM SUPERGREDIENTI
DONO DAT
AUCTOR

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN this book are reviewed those authors of Rome, from Plautus to Juvenal, who have been most widely read, and have had the widest influence upon life and letters to the present day.

The plan of the book is to take each author separately ; to give an account of his life and of his writings ; to sum up the chief merits of his work, to trace its after effects, especially upon the literatures of England and of France, and to illustrate it by the translation of selected passages into English.

Knowledge of Latin is not assumed in the reader : but it is hoped that he will bring to the book a desire to read about the Romans of the Republic, and of the early empire, as they are revealed to us in some of their most characteristic writings.

At the end of each chapter will be found a short list of books in which the study of the writer in question can be continued by the general reader.

Acknowledgments are due to a number of predecessors : especially to Sellar (*Roman Poets of the Republic*, and other works) ; to Cruttwell, Mackail, Pichon, and Teuffel (*Latin Literatures*) ; to the writers of articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and of chapters in *English Literature and the Classics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912).

The translations of selected passages are mostly the work of the author of this book. A few, with initials E.A.N., are by my wife. Thanks are due to the Master of Charterhouse (the Rev. G. S. Davies) and to Mr.

Authors of Rome

C. R. Haines, for permission to print the versions of poems of Catullus to which their names are attached : also to my friend the Rev. Frederick Conway, who has kindly read the proofs.

Acknowledgment is due, also, to Messrs. Longman's, Green & Co., for permission to reprint Mr. Haines' translation, which appeared first in *The Edinburgh Review*.

The book has been written as a labour of love. If it gives any pleasure to others, and if it enables our debt to ancient Rome to be more clearly seen, the author will feel content.

Latin literature begins at the moment when Rome was first brought into contact with the civilization and culture of Greece : when "captive Greece captured her rude conqueror, and introduced the arts into rustic Latium." Much will be said, and necessarily said, in these pages of the influence exercised by Greek literature upon the writers of Rome : an influence which is not merely conjectured, or open to doubt, but real, constant, avowed. We shall see a great poet like Virgil claiming credit as an adapter of the forms of Greek poetry to the Latin language : we shall find him imitating, or translating, many passages from Greek authors, and incurring no disapproval. In such imitation Virgil is not alone : almost all the great authors of Rome have consciously followed Greek models : indeed, never has the literary expression of a great nation been so deeply affected,

Author's Preface

so dominated, by that of another nation as Roman letters were by Greek.

The influence concerns thought as well as form. But it would be a mistake to suppose that Roman ideas were altogether supplanted. They persisted during the period taken for the purpose of this book : roughly 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. In writers from Plautus to Juvenal the qualities on which stress is laid, which are seriously held up to admiration, inculcated, or assumed to exist in the reader, are the characteristic Roman qualities of religion and morality, *pietas* and *gravitas*. Ovid, who seems to be an exception, lived in a remarkable age of dislocation ensuing on the civil wars : he belonged to a small society at court which did not reflect contemporary Italian manners. Lucretius, who preached a materialistic philosophy, assumed that his readers professed a religion bordering on superstition. Persons within this period in whom these qualities of piety and gravity are absent or deficient are probably Greek or Oriental.

The Romans were a practical people. Their history, composed of war and internal troubles, made them so. Their language reflects the plain prosaic common-sense man who lives in a world of action, not of thought or imagination. Among such a people we shall expect to find those styles of writing to be most successful which are most closely in touch with the needs of practical life. And so it is. Tragedy, the comedy of character, lyrical poetry, had in Rome a short flowering season, and then faded away. On

Authors of Rome

the other hand, history, eloquence, satire, had a long and vigorous existence. In Roman philosophy, ethics alone is fruitful : and not its theory, but its practical applications to the forming of character.

Thus Latin literature is the expression of a serious people : different authors apply in different ways the lessons of style taught them by the Greeks, but their literary skill at its greatest, as in Cicero and Virgil, is a combination of Greek sense of form with the qualities which are distinctively Roman. We should rather say “distinctively Italian” : of the fifteen authors described in this book two (Cæsar and probably Lucretius) are Roman by birth : two (Seneca and Quintilian) are Roman by long residence in the capital : the remaining eleven are Italian.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|----------------------------|------|
| AUTHOR'S PREFACE | 3 |
| INTRODUCTION | 9 |
| PLAUTUS | 13 |
| TERENCE | 37 |
| CICERO | 52 |
| LUCRETIVS | 90 |
| CATULLVS | 106 |
| CÆSAR | 118 |
| SALLUST | 135 |
| VIRGIL | 150 |
| HORACE | 177 |
| OVID | 200 |
| LIVY | 220 |
| SENECA | 248 |
| QUINTILIAN | 270 |
| TACITVS | 278 |
| JUVENAL | 308 |
| INDEX | 323 |

INTRODUCTION

THERE was a tendency, not many years ago, to neglect or discredit the ancient classics, and to press the prior or even exclusive claims of more modern studies. Their value, their vitality and vitalising power, alike in education and in mature life, are reasserting themselves. Both in our schools and in our Universities they are now recognised as an indispensable foundation for culture of a large and solid kind. From the civilisation made possible by the Greek genius and organised by the Latin ability, our own came into being, not as a mechanical superstructure, but as an organic growth. The tree cannot without grave injury be cut away from the roots out of which it sprang and from which it is still fed.

Of the two ancient languages and their literatures, Latin is the direct ancestor of English both in form and in substance. This, indeed, is true not only of Great Britain and of the English-speaking Commonwealths, but of the whole of the nations of Western Europe. Rome is their common parent; on the foundations laid by Rome once for all, the structure of their actual life and speech is built. Latin is for all of them a link of union, and in some sense a second mother-tongue which they all inherit. But for us it is specially important to realise that without Latin there can be no adequate grasp, no scholarly study, of our own speech.

This volume is meant to bring before the larger public, to whom Latin is an unknown or an unfamiliar language, some knowledge of its great writers during the period when Rome was first conquering and then organising the ancient world. It is an aim

Authors of Rome

which may be pursued by many methods. That chosen by Dr. Nairn may be commended both for its own sake, and as supplementing and reinforcing other works, in which the history of Latin literature has been summarised, or the "legacy of Rome" to succeeding ages and to the modern world has been set forth in its wider compass. Its particular value is, that by selection of a limited number of the more important authors during that period of about three centuries in which the Roman Empire was built up and the Latin classics (in the narrower sense of that term) were produced, it is possible to treat of these authors in some detail, and through them to kindle interest in, and appreciation of, the whole mass of literature which they represent, and the whole civilisation which they record or interpret.

It may be hoped that all who read these pages will be stimulated by them to go to the fountain-head ; to begin or to resume, as the case may be, the reading of the Latin classics themselves, and to do so with enlarged interest and enhanced appreciation. The object of the volume is not to offer a substitute for study of the authors with whom it deals, but to invite to that study and aid its intelligent pursuit. The classics are there to be read, not to be read about, though to read about them can be made (as I think it is here) a help and not a hindrance to reading them. Further, classic works, in literature as in the other arts, must be known in the original in order to yield their virtue. This is obviously true of poetry ; but it is not less true of prose where the prose is, as it is in these authors, a work of art. Translations, like photographs or casts, give at best a very imperfect

idea of the originals, and one that is likely to be misleading. Used, as they are here, skilfully and sparingly for purely illustrative purposes, they are valuable.

The fifteen authors chosen cover a large range. Among them, the 'main lines followed by Latin literature are represented; and all of them have exercised a great direct influence on modern thought and on English letters. Plautus and Terence are the fountain-head of Elizabethan comedy; Seneca of Elizabethan tragedy. Their study is essential for those who wish to follow the growth of the English drama; and for dramatists of the present day they still may yield much instruction. Cæsar, Livy and Tacitus, beyond the enthralling interest of the events with which they deal, are supreme masters of the art of history, in its human as well as its political and constitutional aspects: among them, they sound the whole chord whose notes have been the model and the despair of later historians. Quintilian remains, after eighteen centuries, one of the ablest and most practical exponents of education in theory and practice, as Seneca does of ethics and natural religion. Sallust and Juvenal, on a somewhat lower plane, are invaluable for the pictures they give of the defects and vices of a civilisation nearly akin to our own. On Ovid, the poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance throughout Europe was largely founded, and even now he is for certain qualities an unsurpassed model. Catullus, in virtue of a portion only of one slender volume, stands alongside of Sappho and Shelley in the triad of supreme lyrical poets with whom language melts into air and fire. Lucretius is recognised, more fully now than ever before, not only

Authors of Rome

as a great poet but as a profound thinker, in whom science and imagination mingle, and the physical and moral laws of the universe receive one of their noblest interpretations. Horace has been, and is, the schoolbook of youth, the guide and counsellor of maturity, the solace of age, for the whole European world. Two names remain to complete the list, the greatest of all in their effective accomplishment for Rome and for mankind: Virgil, the prophet and joint founder of the Roman Empire, the poet to whom all other poets after him have paid allegiance; and Cicero, the great civiliser of language, the creator, once for all, of European prose.

These authors are in our direct spiritual ancestry. Through the acquaintance with them to which this volume invites us, we may gather something of the Roman virtues which they embody or portray. We may learn what language is capable of being, in weight, in precision, in clarity. We may study what is on the whole the greatest and most fruitful object-lesson which the records of the human race supply. For these purposes we have here the guidance of an able scholar and an experienced teacher.

J. W. MACKAIL.

AUTHORS OF ROME

PLAUTUS

GREEK comedy had passed through several phases of development at Athens, and had reached the last of these, nearly a century before it was transferred to Rome. The first phase was the "Old Comedy," whose chief writers were Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. This attained its perfection in the time of Pericles (who died 430 B.C.), but it remained vigorous for a number of years afterwards. Aristophanes (448 to 388 B.C.), one of the greatest writers of comedy, has left us eleven plays; many others have perished. The "Old Comedy" is marked by political caricature, with freedom of speech, and unsparing attacks upon public men.

The second phase was the "Middle Comedy" (400 to 350 B.C.), which arose after the end of the Peloponnesian war, when Athens had lost her empire and her wealth. Personal and political satire disappeared, the size and functions of the chorus were reduced, and there were fewer scenic accessories. Literary and social questions, philosophy and mythology (serious interests of the time) are reflected in the fragments of the "Middle Comedy." These tendencies are to be found already in Aristophanes; one or two of his plays are more properly classed as of the "Middle" period: the other most distinguished dramatists of the period were Alexis and Antiphanes.

The third phase is the "New Comedy" (350 to 250 B.C.), a comedy of manners and character. It

Authors of Rome

drew its materials almost entirely from private life: its nearest modern representative is the comedy of Molière, in which types, or classes, rather than individuals, are delineated. The chief writers of "New Comedy" were Menander, Diphilus and Philemon. Menander (342 to 291) was a prolific writer: more than one hundred comedies have been attributed to him. We have considerable fragments of Menander. Some of them were discovered in recent years, and enable us to judge his work more accurately than before.

The "New Comedy" was the offspring of the changed conditions which followed the loss of Athenian freedom. After 330, the conquests of Alexander had opened the East to Greek influence, and at the same time had destroyed the independent spirit of the Greek city-states. Comedy passed from the mild literary criticism of the "Middle" period to generalised types of character, which suited the new cosmopolitanism. The common and fundamental features of character were now developed. The principal figures in the plays of Menander are representative, or typical¹: they have no definite or clearly marked personality. The same character, often under the same name, occurs in different plays. Thus we have two types of old men (not necessarily in the same play), one severe, the other mild and indulgent: two types of young men, one dissipated, the other virtuous—or apparently so, until his true character is disclosed: a courtesan: a pandar: a

¹ This was emphasised through the dress. For instance, the tunic of the slave was short: the tunic of the free-born was long, and had sleeves.

parasite: two slaves, one simple-minded and faithful, the other crafty and intriguing. We also have the anxious mother, the domineering wife, the long-lost daughter, who appears first as a slave, in the house of the courtesan, but is ultimately discovered to be an Athenian citizen: and the faithful maid-servant.

The motive of the piece is usually love. The action depicts the efforts of a youth to obtain possession of his mistress, often in face of the opposition of a parent or a guardian, and with the assistance of a tricky slave. Recognition of the heroine is frequently the result of the discovery of various tokens, which have been attached to her when she was exposed in her infancy. The marriage of the heroine (when discovered to be a well-born maiden and an Athenian citizen) to the hero follows as a matter of course.

Roman comedy, of which Plautus and Terence are the surviving representatives, arose in the third century B.C., when the defeat of Pyrrhus and the fall of Tarentum had promoted intercourse between Rome and the Greek colonies of Southern Italy. The "New Comedy" of Athens was still played in these Greek cities. It was now adapted to Roman requirements and tastes, and quickly supplanted the native Italian drama, or *satura*, which consisted of a number of loosely connected scenes, in dialogue, but without plot. The *satura* abounded in jokes and coarse personalities, and was written in rude and unpolished verse. We shall meet it again when we come to consider satire (Horace, Juvenal). Though popular in Italy, as a form of entertainment, it is improbable that it would have taken artistic form apart from the influence of the Athenian drama.

Authors of Rome

The plot of the play, which was important in Menander, became less important when adapted to a Roman audience: and a number of scenes of Greek life had to be discarded as unsuitable to Italy. Hence the custom known as *contaminatio* came in: parts of two or more Greek comedies were combined to form one Latin play. Thus the *Andria* of Terence is based on two plays of Menander. So also is the *Eunuchus*. The *Adelphi* of Terence is based on a play of Menander and a play of Diphilus. In his prologues, which contain some interesting literary criticism, Terence justifies this custom of "contamination" against his critics, claiming the same freedom in this respect as his predecessors had enjoyed, and pointing to the feebleness and obscurity which were the result of literalness in translating the Greek originals.

In Italy, before Plautus, one or two writers of comedy deserve mention, though only a few lines of their work have come down to us. Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Tarentum, brought out a comedy in 240 B.C. It was translated from the Greek. The particular occasion was the celebration of the *Ludi Romani*, in the year after the close of the first Punic war. From this time onwards the performance of Latin plays became a regular feature of the Roman festivals. But the plays bore no special religious significance, as they did in Greece: they formed only a part of the performances at the public games, and were a mere side-show. The State looked upon the theatrical exhibitions with an unfriendly eye, and placed restrictions upon them. Only a scanty wooden platform was at first allowed as a stage, and this was taken down after each performance. The slope of a hill served as a

place for the spectators. There were no seats. Not till the year 55 B.C. was a permanent theatre erected in Rome.¹

Livius was followed by Nævius, who wrote in the spirit and personal tone of Aristophanes, the tone of the "Old Comedy." This led to his imprisonment, which took place about the year 207 B.C., for an attack on the noble family of the Metelli. His fate was a warning to his successors that comedy could not be used at Rome as a weapon of political warfare. Nævius was a writer of originality and power.

Titus Maccius Plautus was born about 254 B.C., in Umbria. He was brought to Rome as a boy, and found employment in work connected with the stage. While thus engaged, he saved some money, but lost it in trade. His necessities forced him to turn his early experiences to account, and he wrote some plays which had an immediate success. He continued till his death (in 184 B.C.) to devote himself to the business of making Latin versions of Greek comedies.

The plays of Plautus which have come down to us are twenty-one in number, including one of which only a few fragments have been preserved. The names of the remaining twenty, in alphabetical order, are : Amphitryo, Asinaria, Aulularia, Bacchides, Captivi, Casina, Cistellaria, Curculio, Epidicus, Menæchmi, Mercator, Miles Gloriosus, Mostellaria, Persa, Pænulus, Pseudolus, Rudens, Stichus, Trinummus, Truculentus.

The strength of Plautus does not lie in constructive skill—but in wit, humour, and freshness of detail,

¹ In the time of Terence, the stage represented a street, with houses in the background. The doors of the houses opened on the stage, but the interior was not disclosed. Conversations took place in the street.

Authors of Rome

calculated to appeal to a rude and boorish audience, which—as we know from Terence—was more attracted by an exhibition of boxing, or walking on the tight-rope, than by serious drama. The dialogues of Plautus abound in references to places in Rome and Italy, to Roman magistrates, to Roman religion, law, customs, to recent events in Roman history. Yet he puts himself at the Greek point of view: and uses the word *barbarus* as the Greeks used it, in reference to Italian or Roman manners.

From his plays we obtain few indications of his own preferences. There are few reflections on life: and these are mostly placed in the mouth of a slave. But we gather that he disliked provincialism, and wrote, as a Londoner or Parisian might, of the foibles of the country-bred man. Many illustrations are taken from the life of the city, few from the country. He makes frequent reference to scenes of travel, to the sea, the harbour, the arrival and departure of ships. We get the impression of a man who had travelled widely, had seen the cities of many men and learned their minds. He shows his familiarity of Greek by the use of various colloquial phrases.

All kinds of characters meet us in the plays of Plautus: they form a *comédie humaine*, like that of Balzac. He is at home with all his characters, except perhaps those of good birth: he cannot depict a gentleman. The social circumstances which he describes are those of well-to-do citizens engaged in foreign commerce, or retired from business with their fortunes made. The life of his young men is a life of pleasure. Sometimes they serve in the army, but dislike of a military life is seen in the ridicule heaped

on mercenaries. By the side of the young man, aiding, and abetting him in his pleasures, is the slave, an embodiment of Greek intelligence and craft, with whom we may compare Figaro, in Beaumarchais' comedy *Le Barbier de Séville*.

Women of the courtesan type occur in nearly all the plays of Plautus. They often show not only capacity for intrigue, but goodness of heart. Virtuous women are not sympathetically drawn. A wife who brings her husband no dowry is treated with contempt. On the other hand, rich wives are apt to be imperious. They watch their husbands closely : not without reason. His young women, whether virtuous or not, are usually insipid.

The value of Plautus as an artist is in the vivid presentation of character. He deals with things on the surface. He has no serious meaning, or deep feeling : he reminds us of Le Sage (*Gil Blas*), or Smollett (*Roderick Random*), not of Cervantes or Molière. He has great power of expression in rhythm and in language : in the variety of his lyric metres and the vigour and richness of his vocabulary, he is far above Terence ; and for his exuberance and verve has been compared to Rabelais, or even to Shakespeare. He had a strong and healthy vitality, an emotional temperament, a keen enjoyment of the world.

Plautus seldom maintains a high level in respect of all three ingredients of a play : development of the plot, character-painting and style. He wrote rapidly, and there are few signs of compression or revision. Almost all his plays contain some scenes which are excellent : but not all are good comedies. The five which probably stand highest in general

Authors of Rome

estimation are the *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Menæchmi*, *Pseudolus*, *Rudens* : the next best are the *Amphitryo*, *Bacchides*, *Miles Gloriosus*, *Mostellaria*, *Trinummus*. The plots of the plays in the first group are as follow :—

The *Aulularia* is the story of a pot (*aula*) of gold, which was found by Euclio, a poor man. Thus made rich suddenly, Euclio fears to lose the money which represents security for him in the future ; and hides it. His fear of being robbed becomes a fixed idea : it gives rise to a feeling of suspicion (towards his servants, or even the poultry scratching the ground near the hiding-place) which takes possession of all his faculties, and for a time becomes a dominating force. The conclusion of this play is lost, but there is reason to suppose that there was a happy ending, through recovery of the gold and the marriage of Euclio's daughter.

The *Aulularia* has been imitated by Molière in *L'Avare* : but the character of Harpagon in Molière's play is that of a miser by nature, not by accident. Harpagon was born a miser : this passion increases daily in him. Molière's play is depressing : that of Plautus is bright and wholesome.

Megadorus, in the *Aulularia*, is the type of old bachelor who conceives a desire to get married : he prefers a young girl without a dowry to a rich woman accustomed to have her own way. The play was acted after 195 B.C., when the *Lex Oppia*, which restricted luxury, was repealed.¹

The *Captivi* turns on the relation of master to slave. Philocrates, the master, and Tyndarus, the slave, are

¹ See page 234.

both prisoners at Ætolia, in the house of Hegio. Tyndarus, pretending to be the master, takes the name and the dress of Philocrates, who pretends to be the slave, and is sent to Elis to ransom a son of Hegio. After Philocrates has gone, the fraud is discovered. Tyndarus is on the point of being punished, when Philocrates returns, bringing with him Hegio's son, and also proof that Tyndarus himself is a son of Hegio who had been stolen in infancy. The interest of the piece lies in the friendship between Philocrates and Tyndarus. The real hero is the slave Tyndarus. The comic relief is provided by the parasite Ergasilus.

The *Menæchmi* is the original of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. Menæchmus of Syracuse comes to Epidamnus in search of his twin brother, who had been stolen in childhood. The likeness between the two leads to various confusions. The cook, coming from market with provisions, mistakes Menæchmus of Syracuse for his brother of Epidamnus, who was to dine with the cook's mistress. This lady (a courtesan) makes the same mistake. The wife of the Epidamnian Menæchmus, informed of her husband's pranks, threatens to turn him out of doors, though he denies everything. The Syracusan Menæchmus, when his brother's wife meets him, denies knowledge of her, and is supposed to be mad. The confusion is cleared up by his servant, who receives his freedom.

Shakespeare's play, which was based on a translation of the *Menæchmi*, printed in 1595, is more romantic than that of Plautus, and contains a double confusion: both the masters and the servants are twin brothers.

Authors of Rome

The *Pseudolus* ("Cheat") is named from its main character, the slave of the young Calidorus, who is in danger of losing his mistress Phœnicium. She is owned by the pandar Ballio, who will not give her up without payment. Pseudolus pretends to be a servant of Ballio: obtains a letter and ring which Ballio is expecting from the Macedonian captain who has bought Phœnicium, borrows money from a friend, sends a message to Ballio with letter, ring, and money, and gets possession of Phœnicium. Ballio has to return the purchase money to the captain, and loses twenty minæ which he has promised to pay if Pseudolus outwits him. Pseudolus wins a wager from the father of Calidorus on the strength of his success.

"A most entertaining comedy," was the verdict of the ancient world on a play which was a favourite with Plautus himself. The fertility of resource shown by Pseudolus is as admirably rendered as the effrontery of Ballio.

The *Rudens* ("Cable") is a romantic comedy, of which the scene is laid on the coast of North Africa, near Cyrene. The play is named from the rope by which some fishermen drag to shore a net containing a wallet. This has in it proofs that Palæstra, who is owned by a pandar, Labrax, is the daughter of Dæmones, an Athenian gentleman who was living in the neighbourhood. Labrax had tried to take Palæstra and other slaves away in a ship, but a storm arose and the ship was wrecked. Eventually Palæstra is restored to her lover Pleusidippus. The play is vivid and animated, with good descriptions of a storm at sea, of the danger which the heroine runs in

reaching the shore, of the temple of Venus where Palæstra and her friend take sanctuary. There are some sympathetic characters : Dæmones, simple and upright : Ptolemaïa, the priestess, tender and gracious : Palæstra, with something of the freshness of Miranda, in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. We are also reminded, in various passages, of *Winter's Tale*, and *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*.

Among plays of the second group, the *Amphitryo* has been copied by Molière and by Dryden, in plays of the same name. It is a "tragi-comedy" : a tragedy, because the gods take part in it ; a comedy, because of the intrigue and farcical situations. The subject is the birth of Hercules, son of Jupiter and of Alcmena, the wife of Amphitryo. The plot turns on the impersonation of Amphitryo by Jupiter for the purpose of the intrigue. Alcmena, who protests that she is innocent, is the noblest woman in Plautus. There are some amusing scenes between Mercury, who acts as servant of Jupiter, and Sosia, servant of Amphitryo. Mercury assumes the appearance of Sosia, causing much mystification. Molière has copied these scenes very successfully.

The *Bacchides* is named from the two courtesans, twin sisters, who attract Pistoclerus and Mnesilochus, young Athenians ; when the fathers of the young men go to the house of the Bacchides, to win their sons back to better courses, they also fall victims to the allurements of the sisters.

The *Miles Gloriosus*, which contains an allusion to the imprisonment of Nævius (207 B.C.), turns on the tricks by which Philocomasium, the mistress of the "braggart captain" Pyrgopolinices, is taken away

Authors of Rome

from him by her lover Pleusicles. Sceledrus, servant of the Captain, has witnessed tender scenes between the lady and her lover, but is persuaded that it is her twin sister whom he has seen. A door gives access from the house of the Captain to that of Periplectomenes, a good-natured friend of Pleusicles: and thus the lovers can meet without being surprised. In the second part of the play, Pyrgopolinices is led to believe that a lady is in love with him. She is passed off as the wife of Periplectomenes: and the captain is surprised in an intrigue, and soundly beaten. The *Merry Wives of Windsor*, though not based upon the *Miles*, gives a good idea of the general tone. The detection, with punishment, of Falstaff is similar to that of the Captain. Both are vainglorious, both are cowards, but Falstaff has the more nimble wit. Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* contains the character of the vainglorious Captain Bobadil.

The *Mostellaria*, or "Apparition" (from *monstrum*, a ghost) turns on the attempt made by Tranio, servant of Philolaches, to persuade Theopropides, the father of his master, on his sudden return from abroad, that his house is haunted. Tranio's object is to prevent Theopropides from disturbing Philolaches and the rest of the company at an entertainment, so he makes up a story of a man who had been murdered in the house, and whose ghost haunted it.¹ Tranio's impudence and ingenuity are at first successful: but Theopropides discovers the truth, and is about to punish Tranio, but is dissuaded. There is a charming

¹ In *Les Esprits*, Pierre Larivey (1540 to 1611) borrows this idea, which explains the title ("Ghosts"). He has also made use of Terence's *Adelphi* in this play.

scene in which Philematium, beloved by Philolaches, is watched at her toilet by her lover. The simple affection of the girl is contrasted with the worldly wisdom of her attendant, Scapha.

The *Trinummus* ("Treasure," literally "the three pieces of silver") is the only play of Plautus without a female character. Lysiteles, a young Athenian, proposes to marry the sister of Lesbonicus, who has wasted his substance in riotous living, but is determined to give a dowry to his sister. Charmides, father of Lesbonicus, has gone abroad, leaving his son in the care of his friend Callicles. Lesbonicus sells his house, which Callicles buys; and the dowry is paid by Callicles, ostensibly from Charmides' money, but in reality from a sum of money discovered in the house. The doubts cast upon the purity of Callicles' motives were cleared up. He bought the house in order to keep the treasure intact. A scene in which the real Charmides, on his return home, meets a false Charmides who is conveying the dowry to Lesbonicus, is highly diverting.

The moral tone of the *Trinummus* is good: virtue is triumphant. Lesbonicus is a prodigal of the type of Charles Surface, whose folly is redeemed by generosity. The description of the "School for Scandal" at the end of the first act of the *Trinummus* also reminds us of Sheridan.

The plots of the remaining plays are as follow:—

The *Asinaria* derives its name from the ass-dealer, who has come to pay Demænetus, an Athenian gentleman, for some asses. This money is obtained from the dealer by Libanus, servant of Demænetus, and is handed to Argyrippus, the son of Demænetus,

Authors of Rome

on condition that the father shall be admitted to the company of the young man's mistress. Father, son and lady go to supper together, but are interrupted by Artemona, wife of Demænetus, who observes them for some time, but at last, unable to contain herself, falls upon her husband with great wrath, and drives him off the stage.

The *Casina* takes its name from the heroine, who, however, does not appear. She has several lovers. They draw lots for her. One of the fortunate lovers is her master, Stalino. His wife Cleostrata gets wind of the affair, and contrives to defeat his aims, and to make him ridiculous. The play is drawn from the rude Italian humour of the *satura*.

The *Cistellaria* ("casket play") turns on the casket in which are toys and other tokens proving that Silenium is the daughter of Demipho, a merchant of Lemnos. She had been exposed in her infancy. The discovery of her identity makes it possible for her to marry her lover Aleximarchus. The play as we have it is the shortest of the Plautine comedies, and consists of only one incident, the losing and finding of the casket.

The *Curculio* is thus named from the parasite who is the principal character in it. His intrigues are directed towards the obtaining of Planesium for his master Phædromus, by means of a forged letter. He thus baffles Therapontigonus, who had purchased Planesium. By means of a ring the discovery is made that Planesium is the sister of Therapontigonus, who gives her in marriage to Phædromus.

The *Epidicus* bears the name of a slave, the chief character, and rogue, in the play, who obtains money

from Periphanes, a Plataean, in order to give it to Periphanes' son for the purchase of a slave. The opportune discovery of Telestis, the long-lost daughter of Periphanes, delivers Epidicus from the punishment intended for him.

The *Mercator* ("Merchant") is based upon the love affairs of Charinus, who is supplanted by his father Demipho. The detection and distress of Demipho are well exhibited, and great humour is shown in the part of Lysimachus, the good-natured friend, who exposes himself to scandal for the sake of others, and is promptly brought to book by his wife Dorippa.

The *Persa* ("Persian") turns upon the means adopted by Toxilus to obtain money for the purchase of his mistress. The plan is to induce the daughter of Saturio, a parasite, to present herself to Dordalus, a pandar, as an Arabian girl. She comes in escorted by a pretended Persian, who gives the play its name. Dordalus buys her, but is soon undeceived. The play ends with a scene in which Dordalus is forced to witness an entertainment given in honour of the newly acquired freedom of Toxilus' mistress.

The *Pænulus* ("Carthaginian"), comes to Calydon in search of his long-lost daughter and his nephew. He finds his daughter in the hands of Lycus, a pandar. His nephew, Agorastocles, is in love with one of the girls. Lycus is about to be punished for his treatment of a free-born woman when he throws himself on the mercy of Agorastocles, and is respited. The beginning of the fifth act is spoken by Hanno in Punic, a Semitic dialect. It is turned to comic effect by a servant, who makes ridiculous mistakes by alluding to Latin words of the same sound.

Authors of Rome

The *Stichus* bears the name of a slave, who is a leading character in it. The subject of the piece is the affection of Panegyris and Pinacium for their absent husbands, and their determination to persist in their constancy, notwithstanding their husbands' supposed death. These two sisters had married two brothers, who had gone abroad to retrieve their fortunes, and had not been heard of for three years. Gelasimus, the parasite, learns of the safe arrival of the husband of Panegyris. He orders everything for a good entertainment, and lays in a fresh cargo of jokes and witty sayings. But he is disappointed. He is not invited to supper, and goes away in despair. The last act is entirely taken up with the feast given by Stichus, servant of Epignomus. They eat, drink, sing, dance : " give your applause, spectators : and then go home to supper."

The *Truculentus* (" Churl ") describes the manners and way of life of courtesans. The " churl " is Stratylax, servant of Strabax, a country gentleman, who is one of the lovers of Phronesium, a heartless strumpet. Another lover is Dinarchus, a young Athenian, who is so enraged at her faithlessness that he becomes a reformed character.

The comedy has little humour, and much sordid realism. Yet, according to Cicero, it was one of Plautus' favourite plays.

The importance of Plautus lies partly in the fact that he is one of the surviving representatives of the Græco-Roman comedy of manners. Even the reappearance, in our own times, of extensive fragments of Menander (almost amounting to a whole play)

has not diminished the reputation of Plautus. He is indeed better than his models, for he has reinforced the Greek sense of form by the native Italian vigour, and is not oppressed, as Terence is, with the knowledge that he is, after all, only an imitator. His breadth and freshness of treatment, his wide knowledge of life, his vigorous drawing of character, his swinging rhythm and racy speech, his strong sense of humour, place him high among the great writers of comedy.

In his twenty extant plays are contained specimens of almost every kind of play to which the name of comedy can be extended. Burlesque can be found in the *Amphitryo*, romantic comedy in the *Rudens*, the comedy of sentiment in the *Captivi*, the quiet comedy of manners in the *Trinummus*, broad farce in the *Casina* and the *Miles Gloriosus*, the comedy of "humours" in the *Aulularia*. Until the birth of Molière (A.D. 1622) no writer of comedy, with the single exception of Shakespeare, had ranged over so many types of humanity.

The literature of the Renaissance went back to Plautus and Terence for its models of comedy. While the French stage, with its study of perfection of literary style, has been more affected by Terence, the English stage, with its preference for vigour and variety of dramatic character, has turned to Plautus. In 1553 Nicholas Udall, headmaster of Eton, wrote *Ralph Roister Doister*, one of the earliest of English comedies. Ralph is a rich fool, who believes that every woman loves him; he is a boaster and a coward (like the Captain in the *Miles Gloriosus*). Matthew Merygreebe, who gets money and good dinners on the score of imaginary services, is the typical "parasite."

Authors of Rome

Ralph makes love to Dame Custance, who is already betrothed. Merygreebe turns a love-letter written for Ralph into an open insult, by changing its punctuation. When Ralph attempts to carry off Dame Custance, he is defeated by her and her handmaidens.

The play ends with the collapse of Ralph, and the reconciliation of Dame Custance with her lover.

Plautus and Terence were frequently acted at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The "University wits" of the sixteenth century became acquainted with them in this way.

TRANSLATIONS :

Prose, Loeb Library (Heinemann), 1916, etc. :
Latin text and English translation. Verse,
Sugden (*Amphitryo*, *Asinaria*, *Aulularia*, *Bacchides*, *Captivi*), 1893.

Other works :

Mackail: *Latin Literature* (John Murray), 1923.

Sandys: *Companion to Latin studies* (3rd edn.), 1921. (Cambridge University Press): ch. 8, by A. W. Verrall.

Sellar: *Roman Poets of the Republic* (3rd edn.) Oxford Clarendon Press, 1889.

Wight Duff: *Literary History of Rome to the close of the Golden Age* (2nd edn.). Fisher Unwin, 1911.

In later chapters, reference may also be made to Mackail or Sandys (all authors), and to Wight Duff (all except Seneca, Quintilian, Tacitus, Juvenal).

STROBILUS *steals the pot of money.* EUCLIO *discovers the theft.* (*Aulularia* : Act v., Scene 1, line 20.)

S. All the griffins who dwell on the golden mountains are not so rich as I. Of other kings I trouble not to speak : poor beggarly fellows ! I am King Philip himself. A happy day for me ! When I went away from here, I got there long before Euclio, and posted myself in a tree. I waited to see where the old miser would conceal his treasure. When he had gone, I came down from the tree, dug up this pot full of gold, and promptly took myself off. I saw him come back to the place : he did not see me, for I turned a little out of his way. Ah ! there he is himself. I will go and hide it safely at home. (*Exit.*)

E. I am dead, killed, murdered. Whither shall I run ? Hold him, hold him. Who holds ? holds whom ? I know not. I see nothing. I walk blind. I cannot say for certain where I am going, or where I am, or who I am. (*To the spectators.*) I pray you, I implore you, I beseech you, lend me your help. Show me the man who took it. (*To one spectator.*) What do you say ? I will believe you. I can see from your face that you're honest. How's this ? What are you laughing at ? I know you all. I know there are many thieves among you, who hide themselves in their newly whitened clothes, and pretend to be good men. What ? None of you has got it ? You have killed me. Tell me, who has it then ? You do not know. Ah me : woe is me : I am lost, ruined, most vilely served.

(*Runs about crying.*)

Molière has imitated this soliloquy. Harpagon addresses the audience in this manner : “ Que de gens assemblés. Tout me semble mon voleur. De grace, si l'on fait des nouvelles de mon voleur, je supplie que l'on m'en dise. N'est-il point caché là parmi vous ? Ils me regardent tous, et se mettent à rire.”

Authors of Rome

MENÆCHMUS of Epidamnus is supposed to be mad. He is watched by an old man (O.) and a physician (P.), who discuss his case with one another. (Menæchmi : Act v., Scene 3, 10.)

MEN. Faith, I'm an unhappy man.

O. (*to P.*). Do you hear what he says ?

P. (*to O.*). He says he is unhappy.

O. (*to P.*). Pray go nearer.

P. Good morrow, Menæchmus. Why do you bare your arm ?¹ You do not know how you aggravate your disorder.

MEN. Go hang yourself.

P. (*to O.*). What think you now ?

O. (*to P.*). What can I think ?

P. An acre of good hellebore would not cure this disease. Hark you, Menæchmus.

MEN. What would you have with me ?

P. Answer this question : do you drink white wine or red ?

MEN. Go, crucify yourself.

P. (*to O.*). I find the mad fit just coming on.

MEN. Why not ask me as well whether the bread I eat is purple, or scarlet, or yellow ; whether I eat scaly birds, or feathered fish ?

O. (*to P.*). Do you hear how he raves ? Make haste, and give him some potion before the mad fit seizes him.

P. (*to O.*). Wait a little, I'll question him further.

MEN. Your talk is the death of me.

P. Tell me this : do your eyes ever grow hard ?

MEN. Do you take me for a locust, fool ?

P. Do you find your bowels make a noise ?

MEN. When I'm full, my bowels never make a noise : they do, when I'm hungry.

P. (*to O.*). Faith, in this he has not answered like a madman. (*To MEN.*) Do you sleep till daylight ? Do you get to sleep easily ?

MEN. If I have paid my debts, I go to sleep at once.

¹ From which the cloak has slipped by accident.

May Jupiter and all the gods confound you for your questions!

P. (*to O.*). Now he begins to rave. Take care what you say to him.

TRANIO *frightens* THEOPROPIDES *by the story of a ghost.* (*Mostellaria*: Act ii., Scene 2, 44.)

TR. A murder has been committed here.

TH. What? I do not understand.

TR. A crime, I tell you, of long ago.

TH. Committed long ago?

TR. Yes, but we have only just found it out.

TH. What is it? who did it?

TR. The master of the house seized his guest, and killed him: the very man, I think, who sold the house to you.

TH. Killed him?

TR. Yes, and robbed him of his gold: and buried him here in the house.

TH. And why do you suspect this?

TR. I'll tell you. Listen. Your son had dined from home. On his return, we all went to bed, and fell asleep. By chance I had forgotten to put out the lamp. On a sudden, he cried out loud.

TH. Who is "he?" My son?

TR. Listen. He said a dead man came to him in a dream.

TH. In a dream?

TR. Yes: but mind, he said the dead man spoke to him.

TH. In a dream?

TR. (*testily*). It would have been surprising if he had addressed him when awake, for he was killed sixty years ago. Master, at times, you are really silly.

TH. I say no more.

TR. Now hear what he said. "I am Diapontius, a guest from over the sea. Here I dwell. This is my allotted habitation. Pluto would not receive me into Acheron, for I died an untimely death. By trustfulness

Authors of Rome

I was deceived. My host here murdered me, and without burial rites covered me with earth, here in this house, the wicked man, for the sake of gold. Now depart hence. The house is wicked, it is defiled. In the space of a year, I could scarcely tell the horrors that happen here." Hark.

TH. What is the matter ?

TR. The door creaked.

TH. Did the dead man knock at it ? I've not one drop of blood left. The dead are carrying me alive away to the world of darkness.

(ii.) *The lament of PALÆSTRA (a lyrical passage). (Rudens : Act i., Scene 3.)*

The miseries of men's mishaps, as told in story, are less sharp than when we feel them by sore experience. Has it pleased heaven, to cast me on this strange shore, in these drenched garments, fearful and forlorn ? Shall I cry—"this is the load of sorrow I am born to bear : this is the reward of my unfailing duty" ? For it would be no labour to endure this labour if I had been undutiful to the gods or to my parents. But if I have studiously shunned that sin, then, ye gods, you have dealt with me unfittingly, unfairly, unjustly. How will you requite the impious, if this is how you prize the innocent ? If I were conscious that my parents or myself had done amiss, I should be less grieved. But my owner's wickedness brings on me this trouble : for his impiety I am scourged. He has lost his ship and all, in the sea. I am all that remains of his possessions. Even the girl who came with me in the boat has perished. I am alone. If she had been saved, her aid would have soothed my affliction.

(PALÆSTRA presently meets AMPELISCA ; they advance to the temple of Venus, and kneel before it. PTOLEMOCRATIA, priestess of Venus, comes out of the temple.)

PT. Who are those who humbly entreat the protection of my lady ? The voice of some poor suppliants has drawn

me hither. They make their suit to a good and gracious goddess, a lady most gentle and most kind.

PAL. Save you, good mother.

PT. Save you, sweet girls. Whence do you come so woefully arrayed, in your wet garments ?

PAL. Not far from here just now, but it is a great way off whence we were borne at first.

PT. You came on a horse of wood over the dark ways of the sea ?

PAL. Yes.

PT. You should have come clothed in white, and bringing victims with you. It is not the fashion to approach our temple thus.

PAL. Whence should we, that were cast away, have got us victims ? In need of succour, in a strange land, strangers to hope, we now embrace your knees. Shelter us beneath your roof, save us, have pity on two unhappy wanderers, who have no place of refuge, no hope, nothing indeed but what you see.

PT. Give me your hands. Rise, both, from where you kneel. No woman was ever more prone to pity. But my own state is poor. Scarcely can I support life. For my livelihood I serve Venus.

PAL. Is this Venus' temple ?

PT. It is : and I am her priestess. But such as it is, you shall find courteous entertainment, so far as my scant means will bear me out. Come with me.

PAL. You honour us, good mother, with a most kind affection.

PT. It is my duty.

(iii.) GRIPUS, *the fisherman who has found the wallet, advises his master, DÆMONES, to keep it. (Rudens : Act iv., Scene 7.)*

G. How soon may I have a word with you, Dæmones ?

D. What is the matter, Gripus ?

G. About this wallet. If you are wise, be wise, keep that which the good gods give you.

Authors of Rome

D. Do you think it just that I should claim as mine what is another's ?

G. And why not, when I found it in the sea ?

D. So much the better luck for him who lost it : but that does not make it any the more yours.

G. It is because you are over-scrupulous that you are poor.

D. O Gripus, Gripus, in the life of men there are many snares set to take them, and in those snares many a bait is placed. If anyone snaps at the bait, he is caught by his own greediness. But he who acts with prudence, caution, wisdom, can long enjoy what he has honestly won. Methinks we shall get more by yielding up this booty than by taking it. What ? When I know that another's property has come to my hands, shall I conceal it ? No, Dæmones will never do it. The wise must ever be cautious not to share the guilty acts of their servants. When I have had my sport, I care not for any profit.

TERENCE

PUBLIUS TERENTIUS AFER (Terence) was born about 190 B.C., at Carthage, and was brought to Rome as a slave, in his childhood. He was educated by M. Terentius Lucanus, a senator, by whom he was afterwards set free. On receiving his freedom, he added to his first name, which was Publius, the name of his master's *gens*, thus becoming Publius Terentius. The title "the African" indicated the nation to which he belonged. He was probably not of Phœnician blood. His personal attractions, and intellectual gifts, obtained for him a welcome into the circle of young literary men of good family at Rome, who were engaged in introducing Greek culture into Roman society. Among these youths was Scipio Africanus the younger, from whom the circle is known as the "Scipionic." To it also belonged Gaius Lælius and Furius Philus, with other men of rank, whose favour Terence sought to win. He was indifferent to the general opinion of the public, and was always most appreciated by those best qualified to judge.

The story is told of a visit paid by Terence to the aged poet Cæcilius, for the purpose of submitting to him his first play, the *Andria*. He found Cæcilius at dinner, and as a stranger he was invited to read from a stool at the foot of the couch on which Cæcilius was reclining. After he had recited a few verses, however, he was summoned by Cæcilius to a place on his couch, where he shared the delicacies of the feast.

Terence confined himself entirely to *fabulæ palliatæ*,¹

¹ Comedies in which Greek characters were introduced in the Greek dress (*pallium*), as opposed to *fabulæ togatæ*, in which Roman manners and dress prevailed.

Authors of Rome

that is, to plays copied from the Greek "New Comedy." He brought out six plays between 166 and 160 B.C., and then went to Greece to study the life of that country at first hand. He died in 159, when he was about to return to Rome with translations of a number of Menander's plays.

The comedies which he exhibited at Rome have all come down to us. They are the *Andria*, the *Heauton Timorumenos* (or "Self Tormentor"), the *Eunuchus*, the *Phormio*, the *Adelphi* (or "Brothers"), and the *Hecyra* ("Stepmother"). All were successful: the *Eunuchus* at once became popular: the *Hecyra*, on the other hand, attained success only at the third performance. After Terence's death, the purity of his style was better appreciated. In Cicero's time the study of Terence had become fashionable, and Cicero's admiration for Terence is shown by many quotations in his speeches and letters. Cæsar also, an excellent critic, wrote of Terence as a lover of purity of speech: but regretted the lack in him of a certain comic force, the presence of which would have made his works equal to the Greek. As it was, he was only "half a Menander."

Another Roman writer who studied Terence was Horace, especially in the more familiar style of the *Satires* and *Epistles*, where he quotes Terence more than once.

The characters in Terence's plays are typical: he uses the same types as Plautus had used, but with more art. The striking effects, extravagance, exuberant humour, creative fancy of Plautus are absent: their place is taken by smoothness, consistency, moderation, natural sequence of incidents,

and natural play of motives. The distinguishing feature of Terence is his artistic finish.¹ Among the incongruities which he banished from comedy was the intermixture of references to Roman life with references to Greek life. In Terence the Roman element disappears, and comedy is entirely Greek in spirit as well as in form.

Contaminatio, or the process of combining two or more Greek comedies to form a single Latin play, is frequently used by Terence. For this (as we have seen) he was criticised: and he defended himself, in his prologues, against the attacks of playwrights like Luscius of Lanuvium, who followed one model literally. The charge of plagiarism was also brought against Terence. It referred to the belief that he had received assistance in his plays from Scipio and other noble friends. Imitation of the Greeks was not accounted plagiarism if the Greek play had not previously been translated into Latin, or adapted: in other words, if it was wholly new to Roman audiences.

The *Andria* turns on the love of Pamphilus, a young Athenian, for Glycerium, a native of the Greek island Andros. The rich Chremes has offered his daughter Philumena in marriage to Pamphilus, through his father Simo; but, hearing of the love of Pamphilus for Glycerium, he has withdrawn the offer. Simo, however, lets his son believe that the marriage will take place, as he wishes Pamphilus to leave Glycerium. Davus, Simo's servant, dis-

¹ In this connection, it is interesting to compare with Terence the French eighteenth-century dramatist Marivaux (1688 to 1763), in whom we find the same qualities of smoothness, delicacy and perfection of form.

Authors of Rome

covers the deception: he advises Pamphilus to yield to his father's wishes, and tells him he runs no risk. Chremes will never—he thinks—allow the marriage. But Chremes gives his consent. What is Davus to do? He takes the newly born child of Glycerium, and places it on the doorstep of Chremes, who is made to overhear a conversation proving that the child belongs to Pamphilus, and that Glycerium is an Athenian. This would oblige Pamphilus to marry her. Simo is trying to convince Chremes that this is merely a trick on the part of Davus, when a stranger arrives who proves that Glycerium is really an Athenian. It is then discovered that she is a daughter of Chremes, lost after a shipwreck; and that she had come to Athens to search for her parents. Thus Pamphilus is able to marry her, to the general satisfaction.

The *Andria* was the model for Steele's Comedy of the *Conscious Lovers*, and, in French, for the *Andrienne* of Michel Baron (1643 to 1729). Of all Terence's plays it is the most pathetic. The descriptions of the love of Glycerium for her sister Chrysis, and of the scene in which the dying Chrysis entrusts Glycerium to Pamphilus, are full of tenderness; and the effect is all the greater because of the simplicity of the language.

The *Heauton Timorumenos* opens with a scene in which two old men, Chremes and Menedemus, take part. Chremes asks his neighbour why he works so hard. All day long he is digging or ploughing, and never spares himself. Menedemus explains that he had been stern to his son over a love affair. Clinia, the son, had gone off to the wars. Menedemus,

almost wild with remorse, bought a farm, and set to work, thinking that he ought not to taste of pleasure till Clinia could return to share it. But Clinia has come back, and is now staying with Clitipho, son of Chremes. Clinia tells Clitipho of his doubts as to the faithfulness of Antiphila, his mistress. Syrus and Dromo, servants to Chremes and Menedemus, arrive from Athens, bringing Bacchis, Clitipho's mistress, with whom is Antiphila, one of her attendants. A plot is made to deceive Chremes by passing off Bacchis as Clinia's mistress, and to entrust Antiphila to Clitipho's mother.

Chremes comes to tell Menedemus of Clinia's return, and advises him not to let Clinia see how pleased he is. Syrus is revolving a plan for getting money out of Chremes, who thinks that he is plotting against Menedemus. Sostrata, wife of Chremes, then comes out, greatly excited at having recognised a ring worn by Antiphila. If the ring is the same as that which she once ordered to be placed with her infant daughter when she was exposed, then Antiphila is that daughter. Bacchis meantime threatens to leave Clitipho if she cannot get some money that has been promised her. Syrus persuades her to remove with her attendants to the house of Menedemus, still passing as Clinia's mistress: and he obtains from Chremes a sum of money to recompense Bacchis for the loss of Antiphila. Menedemus learns that Bacchis is Clitipho's mistress, and that Chremes has been duped. Chremes then learns this himself. He becomes very angry, and is rebuked by Menedemus in terms similar to those which Chremes had once addressed to Menedemus. However, Chremes

Authors of Rome

promises Antiphila to Clinia, and vows vengeance on Syrus, which is not executed.

The contrast in character between the self-seeking Bacchis and the self-denying Antiphila is clearly drawn. Bacchis is a common courtesan : Antiphila is a wife in all but name.

The *Eunuchus* opens with a conversation between Phædria, a young Athenian, and his servant Parmeno. Phædria is at a loss to know how to deal with Thais, whose fickleness causes him perplexity. Parmeno gives him sage advice. Thais then explains that she wishes to keep the friendship of Thraso, a soldier, in order to get possession of a girl whom she believes to be an Athenian citizen. She asks Phædria to go to the country for a few days. Phædria consents. Parmeno sees the parasite Gnatho approaching, in company with the girl (Pamphila), whom Thraso had promised to give to Thais. Then Chærea, brother of Phædria, rushes on the stage in great excitement. Parmeno recognises by his description the girl whom Gnatho has just taken into the house of Thais. Chærea sees no way of approaching her : but Parmeno jokingly suggests that Chærea should go in as the eunuch whom Phædria intended to present to Thais. Chærea jumps at the idea, somewhat to Parmeno's alarm. Then follows a scene in which Thraso, the boastful soldier, and Gnatho discuss the effect upon Thais of the present which Thraso has sent her. Thais comes out, and goes off with Thraso. She leaves word that if Chremes arrives he should be asked to await her return. Chærea meantime is being searched for by friends with whom he had an appointment. At last he comes out of Thais' house,

and tells his friend Antipho of his adventure. A quarrel arises between Thraso and Thais; Thraso brings up his attendants, and is about to take the house of Thais by storm, reserving for himself a position at a safe distance. But Chremes, who has learnt that Pamphila is his sister, tells Thraso that, if he molests her, it will be at his peril. Thraso retires. Chærea tells all to Thais, and gains her as an ally. The identity of Pamphila is discovered. Parmeno has a good fright at the possible consequences of his suggestion to Chærea, but is greeted by Chærea as the sole author of his happiness. Thraso is in despair, but is consoled by a promise of the good graces of Thais, and the friendship of Phædria and Chærea.

The *Eunuchus* is the most lively of Terence's plays, and has the largest number of interesting characters. Thais, Thraso, Gnatho are well defined. The subject was such as the English dramatists of the "Restoration" period relished: Sedley has followed the *Eunuchus* in his play *Bellamira*. In France, Brueys (1640 to 1725) used it as the model of his *Le Muet*, and Fontaine of his *L'Eunuque*.

The *Phormio* opens with Davus, a slave, who brings some money for Geta, a fellow-slave. Chremes and Demipho, two old men and brothers, have left their respective sons in charge of Geta during their absence abroad. Geta has tried to keep the young men in bounds, but has given up the task. Phædria is in love with a music-girl belonging to a slave merchant. Antipho is in love with Phanium, who is thought to be an Athenian citizen. Through the assistance of the parasite Phormio, Antipho has been able to marry her: and fears Demipho's displeasure. Demipho

Authors of Rome

returns, in a state of great indignation. He sends Geta to find Phormio, that he may have an interview with him. Phormio arrives: he is challenged by Demipho to prove Antipho's kinship to the girl: he retorts that the relationship has been proved in a court of law, and refuses all attempts at compromise. Demipho consults his friends, and receives opposite opinions. Meantime Phædria tries to get Dorio, owner of the slave girl Pamphila, to give him more time to find the money for her purchase. He appeals to Geta for assistance. Phormio is to forgo legal proceedings against Demipho, and marry Phanium on receipt of thirty minæ. Chremes discovers that Phanium is his daughter (the offspring of an intrigue), and repents of having paid the money to Phormio, being well satisfied that Phanium should be the wife of Antipho. Phormio's cries bring out Nausistrata, wife of Chremes, who is informed of Phanium's parentage. Chremes is thoroughly discomfited, but at his brother's intercession obtains partial forgiveness. Phormio, at his own suggestion, is invited to dinner by Nausistrata.

The *Phormio* is well sustained, with a closely knit plot, but without much variety of character. Phormio is the centre of interest, and his ready wit and knowledge of legal quips mark him as one of the best of the "parasites." Molière's *Fourberies de Scapin*, which is based on the *Phormio*, descends to mere buffoonery.

The *Adelphi*, or "Brothers," is named from the two brothers Micio and Demea. Micio is mild, Demea is severe. Micio is concerned at the absence from home of his adopted son Æschinus. Demea, father of Æschinus, who has learned that Æschinus has

carried off a music-girl from her master's house, comes to reproach Micio for his excessive leniency. Æschinus brings the girl to his own home, and places her in the hands of his brother Ctesipho, for whose sake he had carried her off from the slave dealer, Sannio. The affairs of Æschinus himself now become prominent. He is in love with Pamphila. Sostrata, mother of Pamphila, expresses her doubt as to the fidelity of Æschinus. Demea comes to Micio's house to search for Ctesipho : he has heard that Ctesipho had a hand in abducting the music-girl. But he is informed of the truth, and is urged to do justice to Pamphila. Micio has been told the truth about Æschinus and Pamphila, and has promised redress. Æschinus now resolves to make a clean breast to Sostrata of his part in the abduction ; but before he can do so, Micio appears, and learning that he is faithful to Pamphila, promises that he shall be married. Demea now appears, after a long search for his brother. He reproaches Micio with Æschinus' newly discovered intrigue with Pamphila. Micio urges Demea to put aside his anger and join in the wedding festivities : but Demea enters Micio's house, and finds that the music-girl is the friend of Ctesipho, not of Æschinus. He is finally calmed by Micio ; and, on reflection, resolves to imitate the easy and indulgent ways of Micio, and thus make friends for himself. By extremes he shows that Micio had gone too far in indulgence, as he himself had in severity. The upshot is that moderation is the wisest course.

The *Adelphi* has been followed by Garrick in the *Guardian*, Cumberland in his *Choleric Man*, and Shadwell in his *Squire of Alsatia*. Molière has taken

Authors of Rome

suggestions from it for his *École des Maris* : Baron's *École des Pères* is an adaptation of it.

The *Hecyra* turns on the affairs of Pamphilus. He had been obliged by his father Laches to marry Philumena, daughter of Phidippus, against his inclination. He was in love with the courtesan Bacchis. His wife, however, wins him over : and on his departure for Imbros he places Philumena with his mother Sostrata. But Philumena suddenly leaves Sostrata, and goes to her own mother Myrrhina. Laches accuses Sostrata of having driven Philumena away by unkindness. Pamphilus returns, and is distressed to learn of the breach between his mother and his wife. He discovers the reason. Philumena had been the victim of an assault, and had gone away from the home of Laches in order to conceal her condition from her husband's family. Pamphilus decides that it is impossible for him to take her back. As the two women cannot agree, he says, they must remain apart. Phidippus discovers that his daughter has given birth to a child : but he refuses to "expose" the infant. Sostrata offers to remove to the country so that her son can join his wife. Pamphilus will not accept the sacrifice. Phidippus and Laches now urge Pamphilus to acknowledge the child. He refuses. They apply to the courtesan Bacchis, thinking that she has enticed Pamphilus away. She promises her help ; and visits Philumena and her mother, Myrrhina. A ring which Myrrhina recognises on the finger of Bacchis was given to her by Pamphilus ; and afforded proof that Pamphilus himself was the father of Philumena's child. A touch of fine delicacy is shown in the request made by Pamphilus,

and agreed to by Bacchis, that the truth should not be revealed to Laches or Phidippus.

The plot of a play of Menander, found in Egypt not many years ago, has been seen to be substantially identical with that of the *Hecyra*.

These analyses show that Terence has no great dramatic surprises. His plays proceed smoothly and uniformly. He writes for a courtly society, accustomed to appreciate the delicacy of the best Attic work. The style has the ease and naturalness of good conversation, and often sparkles with wit. The influence of Terence was felt (as we have seen) by the Roman writers who used the conversational style, such as Cicero in his *Letters*, or Horace in his *Epistles*. But the Comedy of Greek life and manners, neglected by the populace, and depreciated by the pedants, practically ended with Terence.

At one period of English literature, Terence's influence was marked. The "Restoration" dramatists, some of whom are a generation later than the name properly implies, Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, discarded the comedy of humours (as in Ben Jonson), and broad farce, in favour of the comedy of manners and a more careful literary style. Thus Congreve, in the dedicatory letter prefixed to his *Way of the World*, speaks of Terence as "the most correct writer in the world:" he admires the purity of his style, the delicacy of his turns, the justness of his characters: and he points to two advantages which Terence had, first in having his characters ready drawn to his hand, and his plots modelled, by Menander, secondly, in the freedom of conversation which was allowed him with Lælius

Authors of Rome

and Scipio, two of the greatest and most polite men of his age: "indeed the privilege of such a conversation is the only certain means of attaining to the perfection of dialogue."

Congreve, like Terence, has earned his fame by plays written before he was thirty years of age. In each case it is the style that has kept the plays alive. But Congreve is cynical, Terence is amiable, urbane. Congreve's characters all scintillate with wit in and out of season. Terence's speak the ordinary language of daily intercourse: his felicities arise naturally out of the situation.

In France, Terence has always been popular. He was imitated by Molière, and his influence is apparent in Molière's reform of French Comedy. He was also greatly admired by Diderot for his moderation, truth and fine taste.

TRANSLATION :

Loeb Library 2 vols., 1912 (J. Sargeant).

Other works :

Sellar : *Roman Poets of the Republic*.

G. Norwood : *Art of Terence* (Blackwell, Oxford) 1923.

MYSIS and PAMPHILUS *speak of Glycerium. (Andria : Act i., Scene 5, line 46.)*

M. I only know that she deserves you should remember her.

P. I should remember her ? O Mysis, Mysis, even now the words of Chrysis touching my Glycerium are written upon my heart. As she lay dying she called me. I went to her. You retired. We were alone. She began thus : " My Pamphilus, you see the youth and beauty of this maiden, and you well know how little service these qualities can render in protecting her fortune or her fame. I beseech you by this right hand, by your better self, your pledged word, and her forlorn state, do not put her away from you, do not abandon her. If I have ever loved you as a brother, if she has ever held you most dear, and has shown herself obedient to you in all things, I bequeath you to her as a husband, friend, guardian, father. All our possessions I leave to you, and entrust to your loyal care." She put Glycerium's hand in mine, and presently she died. I received Glycerium, and once received will keep her safe.

M. I trust you will.

THRASO *leads his ragged regiment against the house of THAIS. (Eunuchus, Act iv., Scene 7.)*

TH. Shall I put up with an affront so gross, Gnatho ? No, I'd rather die. Simalio, Donax, Syrus, follow me. First, I will storm their castle.

GN. Excellent.

TH. Then carry off the maiden.

GN. Bravo.

TH. Then punish Thais herself.

GN. Nobly said.

TH. Here in the centre, Donax, with your crowbar. Do you, Simalio, go to the left wing ; you, Syrus, to the right. Where are the rest ? Where's the centurion Sanga, and his company of rascals ? SANGA : Here, Sir.

TH. What, coward ? Think you to fight with a sponge, that you should bring it here ?

Authors of Rome

SA. I knew the valour of the general, the fury of his men. I knew the affair must end in bloodshed. I brought it to wipe our wounds.

TH. Where are the rest ?

SA. Plague take it, what mean you by "rest" ? There's nobody but Sannio guarding the house.

TH. (to GNATHO). Lead you the van. I'll bring up the rear, and from thence give the word to all.

GN. What wisdom ! Now he has drawn them up, he chose a safe place himself.

TH. This is how Pyrrhus formed his line of battle.

Contrasted methods of education : love and fear.
(*Adelphi* : Act i., Scene 1, line 38.)

MICIO. Gods, that a man should take to his heart, or acquire, that which is dearer to him than himself. Yet he is not my son, but my brother's, whose bent was different from mine even from his youth upward. I have led a quiet and peaceful city life, and (which some reckon fortunate) have never married. He is the opposite of this in everything : spends his time in the country, always lives strictly and sparingly, married, had two sons, of whom I adopted the elder. I brought him up from a baby, kept him, loved him as my own. All my delight is in him, he is all that I hold dear, and I do all I can to make him love me in return. I give, I overlook, and do not think it necessary to control his every action : in short, the pranks of youth, which other children conceal from their fathers, I have accustomed him not to hide from me : for he who has once formed the habit of falsehood, or brings himself to deceive a father, will practise the same deception more freely upon others : and in my opinion it is better to bind your children to you by the ties of modesty and honour, than by fear. But these notions do not suit my brother : he does not like them. Often he comes to me, crying, "Micio, what are you about ? Why do you ruin our son ? Why does he drink, and intrigue ? Why do you let him have money for this ? You let him dress too fine. It is foolish of you." Now Demea, on the con-

trary, is too hard, out of all reason : and I think he makes a great mistake when he fancies that the authority founded on force is firmer and more lasting than that which is built upon friendship. For thus I reason, and of this I am convinced : he who performs his duty because he is driven to it by fear of punishment, is cautious just so long as he believes that his actions are observed : if he hopes to go undetected, he returns again to his old natural bent. But if you attach him to yourself by kindness, he will act honestly : he longs to make a due return : present or absent, he is always the same. This, then, is the duty of a father, to accustom his son to live virtuously from choice rather than from fear of another.

CICERO

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (Cicero : formerly often called "Tully"), who sums up for us the eloquence of the Roman republic, was born in 106 B.C. on his father's estate near Arpinum, a town in Latium. His father was a Roman *eques* (knight), that is, he belonged to the commercial and industrious classes, who held a middle rank between the Senate and the *plebs*. None of the members of Cicero's family had filled a "curule" office : not even an ædileship, which was the lowest step in the ladder of rank that entitled a citizen to the honour of the ivory curule chair. He was therefore a "*novus homo*" ("new man," that is, *parvenu*) : and his advancement was entirely due to merit, not to influence.

He was educated at Rome : and devoted much time to the study of Greek. He also attached himself to Quintus Mucius Scævola the lawyer, took notes of his lectures, and followed him to the courts when he pleaded as an advocate, and to the forum when he addressed the people. Cicero listened to the various orators, studied their gestures, and spent time each day in practising declamation. His thirst for knowledge, and his ambition, made him a most diligent student. As he aspired to fill the great offices of state, he took an early opportunity of defending persons who were accused, this being a means of earning popularity. A speech in defence of a certain Publius Quinctius, delivered in the year 81, when Cicero was twenty-five, is the earliest of his surviving speeches. Already Cicero is seen to be versed in the technicalities of his profession, and to be a match for Hortensius, who was then the leading advocate at

Rome. Cicero's first important case was the defence of Sextus Roscius, a native of Ameria, in Umbria. The prosecutor was Chrysogonus, a freedman of the all-powerful dictator Sulla. Roscius was accused of killing his own father: and was in danger of being unjustly condemned when Cicero's eloquent arguments secured his acquittal. This earned for Cicero a great reputation, but also the ill-will of Sulla.

To give time for this ill-will to die down, and also to recover his health, which had been injured by his devotion to his profession, Cicero went to Athens, where he studied Greek philosophy, and then to Asia Minor and the island of Rhodes, where he studied rhetoric with the most celebrated masters of that art. At this time he formed his famous friendship with Pomponius Atticus. After two years, at the age of thirty, he returned to Rome, his health re-established. Sulla had died the year before. Cicero was elected to the office of quæstor, which he held in 75 B.C., in the western part of the island of Sicily, chief source of Rome's corn supply. During his quæstorship he won the good-will and confidence of the Sicilians: and through this he obtained his next great opportunity of distinction in a public case of importance, the prosecution of Gaius Verres for injustice, cruelty and rapacity in his government of Sicily as prætor from 73 to 71 B.C.

Verres had used his office to enrich himself at the expense of the unfortunate inhabitants of Sicily: had imposed heavy duties on the produce of land, and on exports, and embezzled the proceeds. He had interfered with the contracts of the farmers of the revenue (*publicani*). He had plundered the towns of

Authors of Rome

their works of art, and had spared neither the temples of the gods nor the private dwellings of men in his search for statues, pictures and jewellery. He had treated individuals with great barbarity; had flogged several, and had even crucified a citizen of Rome.

A deputation from all the chief cities of Sicily appealed to Cicero to act as the accuser of Verres, who was backed by the support of some powerful families. A "man-of-straw," named Quintus Cæcilius, who had been quæstor in Sicily when Verres was prætor, was put forward to claim for himself the right to prosecute: Cicero delivered against him the speech *Against Cæcilius*, also called *divinatio*, because the court decided by argument, and not on evidence. The decision was in favour of Cicero, who thereupon threw great energy into the task of collecting evidence against Verres in Sicily: he returned to Rome after completing his investigation in less than half the time allowed him. He baffled Verres and his advocate Hortensius by proceeding at once to the examination of the witnesses: whereupon the defence broke down. Verres was condemned to exile, and to a heavy fine. Cicero had delivered only one speech on the prosecution: but on the withdrawal of Verres he worked up his material into five speeches, which were never delivered, but remain as a monument of energy and eloquence. The descriptions of the cities of Sicily, of the works of art in them, of the infamous conduct of Verres and his agents, are all most vivid: we obtain from them much information as to the government of a Roman province. The style is animated: not diffuse, but kept within bounds by

the necessity of handling many topics in a limited time. All the resources of contempt, indignation, humour, irony, and of moral appeal to the judgment of the jury, are employed with crushing effect.

In the great days of our eighteenth century Parliamentary history, when Chatham, Pitt, Sheridan and Fox studied Cicero, and quoted him in the House of Commons, Edmund Burke used the speeches against Verres as the model for his attack upon the alleged wickedness of the English "pro-consul" in India, Warren Hastings.

In the following year (69) Cicero held the office of Curule Ædile. These officials had the care of the public buildings, especially the temples : also of streets and markets, and the policing of the city. They arranged for the celebration of great religious festivals, and of games in honour of the gods.

In the year 68, Cicero's correspondence begins, and furnishes us with much information as to his life, and the history of the time.¹ In 67 B.C. he was elected to the office of *prætor urbanus*, or "city prætor," which he held the next year (66). Part of his duties lay in the criminal courts, where he had to preside at the trials of those magistrates who were accused of extortion in the provincial governments. But the chief event of his year of office as prætor was his advocacy of Aulus Cluentius Habitus, who was accused (through the agency of his own mother) of murder. The speech *Pro Cluentio* is one of the most striking of all Cicero's speeches ; it shows us the seamy side of the social life of an Italian country town (Larinum) and of Rome. The characters of Sassia (Cluentius'

¹ See page 75.

Authors of Rome

mother), and of Oppianicus, are drawn with great skill. Sassia, whose wickedness is the cause of much mischief, has been compared to Lucrezia Borgia. She is lustful, and vengeful, and sticks at nothing to gain her ends. Among her crimes are perjury, murder and incest. Oppianicus was the second husband of Sassia. Cluentius was her son by her first husband. Oppianicus tried unsuccessfully to poison Cluentius : he was convicted and sentenced to banishment. He died in exile : and, at the instigation of Sassia, his son accused Cluentius of having caused Oppianicus to be poisoned. The speech is long and involved, perhaps intentionally so. There is reason to suppose that Cicero obscured the issue laid before the jury.

Another speech made in this year (66) was in support of the bill brought forward by the tribune Manilius for conferring on Pompey the supreme command in the war against Mithridates, King of Pontus (in Asia Minor), a formidable enemy of Rome. The speech *Pro Lege Manilia* is the first that Cicero delivered from the Rostra, the platform in the forum where orators stood when addressing the people. It is a vigorous assertion of the need of protection for Rome's allies, attacked by Mithridates and his ally Tigranes. Cicero asks " Who is the commander most fit to carry on the campaign ? " The qualities to be looked for in a general are—military genius, virtue (disinterestedness), authority, success. All these qualities are united in Pompey, who is not only a good soldier but a good man. Cicero claims that his own support of the bill is in the public interest, not for his personal advantage.

At the end of his year of office, Cicero declined a provincial governorship in order to carry on his canvass for the consulship of the year 63: and opened a campaign for this purpose, using all the arts of popularity, and, as a "*novus homo*," feeling that every effort was necessary. He was supported by members of the equestrian class, and by the inhabitants of the country towns. Those whom he had assisted in legal actions were also in favour of his election. Among his rivals for the consulship were Gaius Antonius, uncle of Mark Antony, and Lucius Sergius Catilina, member of an old patrician family. They had formed a coalition, and had powerful backers: but Cicero headed the poll. Antonius came next. Catiline was third on the list. Cicero's success was chiefly due to his own abilities and character.

The year of his consulship, 63 B.C., was opened by some successful speeches, portions of which have been preserved, upon the agrarian proposals of Servilius Rullus. But its chief event was the conspiracy headed by Catiline. The career of Catiline, as drawn for us by Cicero and Sallust, is one of unscrupulousness and crime. He is painted in the blackest colours: several murders were laid to his charge, and he was the leader of the dissolute youth of Rome. He intended, on becoming consul, to make himself master of Italy, and he had gathered a number of needy and unprincipled men around him, whose headquarters were at Fæsulæ (Ficsole, near Florence).

On his defeat at the poll for the consulship of 62 B.C. Catiline resolved to murder Cicero, and to destroy Rome. Cicero had received warning, and took his precautions: he also summoned the senate to meet

Authors of Rome

him on the following day, the eighth of November, in a temple in the forum. Catiline was present (he had held the office of prætor, which entitled him to a seat in the senate). Cicero rose, and attacked him, in the speech known to us as the first against Catiline, in a strain of fierce invective, accusing him of his past crimes, and calling on him to rid Rome of his presence. Catiline, on rising to reply, was met with shouts of "traitor"; he went out of the senate house, and left Rome the same night. He was declared a public enemy. Legal proof was soon obtained of the complicity of the other conspirators in Rome. They were arrested, and admitted the proofs of their guilt, which were contained in letters written to a Gallic tribe (the Allobroges), promising help if it went to war with Rome. The senate met to consider how to deal with the case. Cicero presided (on December 5th), and called on the senators in turn to give their opinion. Julius Cæsar spoke in favour of any punishment short of death. Marcus Porcius Cato spoke strongly in favour of capital punishment. This decided the senate, who voted for death. Cicero, as chief magistrate, arranged for their execution: when they had been strangled he announced to the crowd in the forum, "*Vixerunt*" (they have ceased to live). The second speech against Catiline informed the people of the events in the senate on November 8: the third told the people of the discovery of the treasonable correspondence: the fourth was delivered in the senate on December 5: and showed his readiness to inflict the capital sentence. They are powerful pieces of invective, with dramatic narrative, and vivid sketches of character.

The speech *Pro Murena* was delivered in the midst of these stirring events, in December, 63. Murena, who had been elected consul for the year 62, was accused of having employed bribery to secure his election. Against him were Servius Sulpicius, a well-known lawyer, and Porcius Cato, an adherent of the Stoic philosophy. On the side of Murena were Hortensius and Cicero. The speech of Cicero, which is preserved, contains a lively criticism of members of the legal profession: their obscure labours are contrasted with the distinguished career of Murena as a soldier. This was damaging to Sulpicius: and an attack was also made on the narrowness of the Stoic creed, with a view to lessen the influence of Cato. The speech is very witty: and its cheerful and good-humoured tone shows that Cicero could shake off the anxiety caused by Catiline's actions.

On the last day of the year, a tribune prevented Cicero from making the usual valedictory address, on the ground that he had condemned Roman citizens to death without a trial. This was a foretaste of future troubles. A powerful enemy to Cicero arose in Publius Clodius, against whom Cicero gave evidence in a certain action (62 B.C.). From this time Clodius resolved on revenge. Cicero's most celebrated speech of this year is his defence of the poet Archias, a Greek who had been his teacher, and whose right to the Roman citizenship was contested. The speech contains not only a defence of Archias, but a statement of his claims to men's gratitude as a poet. It is a fine panegyric on the profession of letters: and was a favourite with the leaders of the Italian Renaissance—Petrarch and Poggio. The years 61, 60 and 59

Authors of Rome

contain nothing of special note for Cicero, except the speech *Pro Flacco*, on a case of extortion (59 B.C.).

As Cæsar, Pompey, Crassus (the first "triumvirate") abandoned Cicero to his enemies, it was proposed by Clodius that whoever had put to death a Roman citizen uncondemned in due trial should be interdicted from fire and water, in other words, should become an outlaw. Cicero, who was aimed at, but not mentioned by name, offered no resistance : he left Rome in March, and Italy in April of the year 58. He was absent from Italy for fifteen months, which he spent partly in Thessalonica (Salonica), partly in Epirus with his friend Atticus. His lamentations at losing the society of his friends at Rome are loud and deep.

In September of the year 57, Cicero entered Rome on his return. He had been warmly greeted on his journey through Italy : he now explained to the senate and to the people that he had gone into exile voluntarily rather than cause bloodshed by resistance. These speeches have been preserved : also one asking for the restitution of his house, which had been destroyed by Clodius. In 56 he spoke in defence of Sestius, an enemy of Clodius (this speech is famous for the description of conservatism in politics) ; and also for Cælius Rufus, who was attacked by the infamous Clodia. The vices of brother and sister, and of the "smart set" at Rome, are exposed with great clearness. Cælius—it is admitted—has not been free from blame : but his faults are the faults of youth, and time will cure them. Clodia is handled with severity ; for her immorality no excuse is accepted. The chief speech of this year (56) is that *on the*

Consular Provinces. It had been proposed that Cæsar should be deprived of his government of the two Gauls, which were to be assigned to the new consuls-elect. Cicero took occasion to make up his quarrel with Cæsar : and urged that it would be bad policy to stop him in his career of conquest. Gaul was the most terrible enemy that Rome had to fear, and Cæsar alone was the conqueror of Gaul. Cicero offers the hand of friendship to Cæsar in forgiveness of past wrongs. "I received an injury. I ought to have been his enemy. I do not deny it." But as Cæsar had atoned by his kindness at the time of his recall, he would lay aside his hostility for the sake of the republic. It is a fine speech, in the style in which Cicero was pre-eminent—panegyric. It also proves that he was unable to penetrate the designs which Cæsar had already formed against the republican system.

A further reference to the time of his exile is seen in his speech *Pro Plancio* : delivered (54 B.C.) in defence of Plancius, who had assisted him during his residence abroad and was accused of bribery and corruption. But we may pass to the year 52, which is marked by the speech in defence of Milo : one of the most vigorous and most elaborately finished of all his speeches. In the anarchy which prevailed, Clodius and his enemy Titus Annius Milo engaged in constant struggles : each was at the head of a band of armed supporters. At length Clodius was killed by Milo's followers in a skirmish close to Rome. His body was taken to the forum, and placed on a funeral pyre, in the conflagration which resulted the senate house was burnt down. Pompey, who was hostile to Milo,

Authors of Rome

became consul, and Milo was summoned to appear before a court appointed to try cases of violence, on the charge of murdering Clodius. On the day when the verdict was to be given, every approach to the forum was blocked by armed men. Cicero, on rising to speak, was assailed with such clamour that he spoke ineffectively. The oration which has come down to us was written some time after the trial ended. Milo was declared guilty, and went into exile.

Cicero in his written speech asks the question : “ Assuming that Clodius was killed by Milo, what manner of man was Clodius ? A man who regarded no law but the law of force.” But Clodius had far more interest in the death of Milo than Milo had in the death of Clodius. Besides, the characters of the two men made it more probable that Clodius was the aggressor. Cicero appeals to Pompey not to lose one whose sword he may be glad to have at his disposal : to the jury, not to drive from Rome one whom every other country would open its arms to receive.

But the special importance of this speech is the completeness with which it exemplifies the rules of rhetoric. In ancient times, both the theory and practice of oratory received the greatest attention : and among the Romans “ the shadow of rhetoric lay over the whole education of the higher classes.” The speech for Milo has been framed with the precepts of the oratorical art in view : it has three main divisions : introduction, main argument, peroration. The introduction disposed the listener to give a favourable hearing to the arguments, to win his good will and arouse his attention.

Next comes the main argument, the recital of facts : here clearness and brevity are required. The narrative opens with a description of the deadly enmity which Clodius bore to Milo, as shown by repeated threats to put an end to him. The events before the enemies met, and during the fatal encounter are described rapidly and simply. Then come the proofs. In this speech little is said which would be regarded as evidence in modern times : but the speech in its present form is a piece of literature, intended mainly for *readers*. The proofs, such as they are, are mainly arguments from character, opportunity, the place (which was favourable to Clodius).

The peroration as a rule aimed principally at pathos : but Milo had borne himself so bravely that Cicero could not appeal for mercy in his client's name. The jury are then exhorted to vote as their conscience directs them : thus will they best please Pompey. Ancient writers, on rhetoric, including Quintilian, admired this speech above all others of Cicero, and made many quotations from it in illustrations of the rules of the art.

In the following year (51 B.C.), Cicero set out for the province of Cilicia, on the borders of Asia Minor and Syria, which he was to govern for a year, as proconsul. In his absence from Rome the correspondence with Atticus was resumed : it had been interrupted for over two years while they had both been living in Rome. Other friends of Cicero were also diligent letter-writers at this time : and we have interesting side-lights on affairs in Rome and in the distant province. Cicero's experience of administration in Rome and in Sicily now stood him in good

Authors of Rome

stead : and he showed towards the provincials a love of justice which was rare at that time. Pro-consuls and pro-prætors set out for their provinces like birds of prey : their one concern was to make a fortune quickly, and return home to enjoy it.

From Brundisium (Brindisi) Cicero crossed to the opposite shores of the Adriatic : then went on by land to Athens, where he was delighted to be once more. He stayed only a few days : and took ship for Asia Minor. He put in at the island of Delos : then went on to Ephesus, and so to Laodicea, which he reached on the 31st July (51 B.C.). From that day he dates the commencement of his government : he is anxious that it shall not be prolonged beyond a year. He longs for Rome, the forum, his home, his friends. The year of office expired on 31st July of the year 50, and Cicero immediately embarked for Italy : after long delays, due to adverse winds, he reached the gates of Rome on 4th January in the year 49, shortly before the outbreak of the civil war. After months of indecision, Cicero decided to leave Italy and follow Pompey, who had been forced to go to Epirus. He joined Pompey in June of the year 49 at Dyrrhachium ; and remained there till the battle of Pharsalus had been fought (August, 48 B.C.). For a year (September, 48, to September, 47) he lived at Brundisium, waiting for Cæsar's permission to return to Rome. Meantime Pompey had been killed when landing on the Egyptian coast : and Cæsar had carried through the Alexandrian war to a successful issue. The meeting between Cicero and Cæsar took place near Brundisium, and Cicero was completely forgiven. He returned to Rome in December, 47 B.C. : the republic had been

overthrown, his friends were scattered, many of them had fallen in battle. He resumed his literary studies with fresh zeal; his books—he said—made him feel ashamed of himself, for by plunging into strife he had paid too little attention to their precepts. The year 46 and 45 were fertile in literary work: the *Brutus*, or “on famous orators,” the book “on the highest good and evil” (*de finibus*), the “Cato,” or “on old age,” the *Orator*, dedicated to Brutus, all belong to this period. His domestic life was saddened by divorce from Terentia, and (in the year 45) by the death of his dearly loved daughter, Tullia. This was a heavy blow to him, and he made great efforts to obtain distraction by writing and reading.

To the year 46 belong the speeches for Marcus Marcellus and for Quintus Ligarius: the first was delivered in the senate when Cæsar gave his consent to the recall of Marcellus, who had fought on the side of Pompey. Cicero says that he was so overcome by a sense of Cæsar’s clemency that he could not refrain from showing his feelings: this speech is full of compliments to Cæsar. When Ligarius was accused in his absence of having borne arms against Cæsar, Cicero spoke on his behalf, referring to his own pardon as a proof of Cæsar’s goodness. Cicero’s last client (towards the end of 45) was an Eastern potentate, Deiotarus, who had taken Pompey’s side, but had afterwards entertained Cæsar. He was accused of attempting to murder him. The case was heard in Cæsar’s house. Judgment had not been given when Cæsar was assassinated (15th March, 44 B.C.).

Cicero was present in the senate house when Cæsar was killed: he saw the murder: and (as references

Authors of Rome

in his letters show) he heartily approved of it. He only regretted that Antony was not killed at the same time. After the burning of part of Rome, at Cæsar's funeral, Brutus and Cassius left the city : Cicero also went away, and wandered from one of his country houses to another. Meantime Antony had devised a plan of doing as he pleased under the pretence of carrying out Cæsar's instructions. He forged Cæsar's signature to a number of orders, and declared that he had found them among the papers left by Cæsar. Cicero now thought of leaving Italy : and crossed to Syracuse, in Sicily. But adverse winds drove him back the next day to Italy, and he welcomed this as an omen. He returned to Rome, where he was warmly received.

His last actions were worthy of his earlier days. He had wavered between Cæsar and Pompey before and during the civil war. He had paid lip service to Cæsar ; but on discovering that Antony was working only for his own ends, he cast in his lot with the senate, and henceforth acted with courage and decision. Soon after his return to Rome, a meeting of the senate was called, at which Antony was to propose a public thanksgiving in honour of Cæsar's memory. Cicero was not in his place when the house assembled : he was not yet prepared for the final breach with Antony which would have followed his opposition to the measure. Antony rose and made a speech, threatening Cicero with personal violence if he did not come. On the next day Cicero delivered, in the senate house, the first of those orations, fourteen in number, which we know under the name of *Philippics*, in allusion to the speeches in which the Athenian

orator Demosthenes attacked Philip, King of Macedon. In the *First Philippic*, Cicero explained the reason for his departure and his return : stated his intention of voting for the ratification of Cæsar's acts : reviewed the conduct of Antony, reminded him of his past professions, and urged him to take warning by the fate of Cæsar. At the next meeting of the senate, Antony made a speech, which is lost : but from the *Second Philippic* we learn that Antony held Cicero up to ridicule for various reasons, and accused him of causing the severance between Cæsar and Pompey, and of being an accomplice in the plot for Cæsar's murder.

Cicero was not present : his friends had told him it was unsafe to attend. But he wrote his reply (the *Second Philippic*) which was sent to Atticus, to be published when he thought fit. It is at the same time a vindication of Cicero's past life and conduct, and a tremendous attack upon Antony in his public and private life. It is modelled to some extent upon Demosthenes' speech "*For the Crown*," in its combination of defence and attack ; and it shows a power of invective scarcely inferior to that used by Demosthenes against his rival Æschines.

The rest of the *Philippics* were delivered in rapid succession : they followed closely the varying fortunes of the struggle between the forces of the senate (under the consuls Hirtius and Pansa), and Antony, who had now been declared a public enemy. The ninth of the series stands by itself : Servius Sulpicius, one of the envoys sent by the senate to Antony to discuss terms of peace (contrary to Cicero's advice), had died in Antony's camp. The question of paying

Authors of Rome

honour to his memory was raised : and Cicero, who spoke in favour of the proposal, delivered an eulogy on his friend, who had given his life in the service of his country. After further negotiations, the war was renewed. Antony pressed the siege of Decimus Brutus (one of the conspirators against Cæsar) at Mutina (Modena), but was defeated by Hirtius and Octavian (Cæsar's grandnephew, the future Emperor Augustus). Cicero's last *Philippic*, and last speech, was in support of a proposal for a public thanksgiving in honour of the victory.

But fortune changed. The consuls Hirtius and Pansa both lost their lives. Antony was joined first by Lepidus, then by Octavian ; the three leaders met near Bononia (Bologna) and formed the second triumvirate. One of the conditions of agreement was that each should give up victims to satisfy the other two. Octavian agreed to surrender Cicero. The year 43 was drawing to an end. Cicero on hearing of the "proscription," as it was called, decided to go to Brutus in Macedonia, and went on board a vessel. But he came on shore again : and though his slaves tried to save him, he was overtaken by the agents of Antony, and, offering his neck to the executioners, was put to death (7th December). He had nearly reached his sixty-fourth year. Antony and his wife, Fulvia, both of whom had felt the sting of Cicero's attacks, showed a brutal satisfaction at his death. Thus Cicero ended in Roman fashion a life which in spite of weakness and irresolution, had, in critical moments, exhibited many great qualities. In the fight for the life and honour of Sextus Roscius against the dictator Sulla, in the fight for public morality among Roman

magistrates against Verres, in the fight for the safety of the city against Catiline, in the fight for truth and the decency of public life against Antony, Cicero showed firmness, bravery and even leadership.

Cicero in his speeches¹ followed mainly the Asiatic school, which arose after the death of Demosthenes in the western regions of Asia Minor, and in the neighbouring islands, such as Rhodes. In contrast with the chastened and self-restrained style of the Attic orators, the Asiatic style was redundant and unduly ornamental. The contrast between Demosthenes and Cicero made by Quintilian (in his tenth book)² dwells upon the brevity and conciseness of the Greek, the fulness of the Roman orator. "From Demosthenes nothing can be taken away. To Cicero nothing can be added. Demosthenes is superior in art: Cicero in natural gifts." Most modern readers probably regard Cicero as too wordy: his wealth of illustration chokes his ideas. Except in the *Philippics*, where the influence of Demosthenes was naturally strong, he does not bring us to grips with his subject quickly enough: he has a supply of rhetorical commonplaces which are equally suitable, or unsuitable, wherever they are introduced. But to a popular audience of Italians Cicero's ornate style was eminently pleasing: and it has had many admirers in modern times. It is compounded of many qualities: pathos, wit, humour, discernment of character, a rich and varied vocabulary, and a strong sense of rhythm.

¹ We possess fifty-seven, with fragments of about twenty more, and the titles of thirty-three others. A rough division can be made into public and private speeches, but some (Verrines) are on the border line.

² x. 1. 105.

Authors of Rome

Cicero's writings on the art and history of oratory exhibit his powers in a field in which he fears no comparison with the best Greek writers. Rhetoric had been treated philosophically by Plato (in the *Gorgias* and the *Phædrus*), technically by Aristotle (in his treatise on *Rhetoric*), and others. Cicero brought these theories within the compass of the Roman mind : but he did more. He created the conception of an orator, as opposed to a speaker, or rhetor (to use the Greek term, which means a trained speaker). And his conception of an orator survives to this day. If we omit an early work, which he regarded as immature, we have three important treatises on this subject, all of which retain their value.

The dialogue *De Oratore* was written in 55 B.C. The principal parts are assigned to Crassus and Antonius, the two great orators of the age immediately preceding Cicero. The conversation turns on the subject matter of oratory, and the degree of intellectual culture required by the perfect orator. Crassus assigns to oratory the widest limits, and insists on the orator being familiar with the whole circle of the arts, in fact taking (like Francis Bacon) "all knowledge to be his province."

In the second book, Antonius discusses *inventio*, or the thinking out of the subject matter : wit and humour (a section which is of interest as showing the Roman canons of taste in these matters) : arrangement : and memory.

In the third book, Crassus sets forth the rules of elegant diction, of delivery and gesture. The *De Oratore* conveys, in a style of great richness and dignity, the results of Cicero's experience in the art

of which he was a master. The rhetorical teaching of the schools is laid aside: and points of general interest are handled fully, but without diffuseness. "The characters of the aged senators are fully conceived: and the whole company is invested with an almost religious majesty."

Nine years later, in 46 B.C., Cicero wrote the *Brutus*, "on famous orators": the speakers in this dialogue are Brutus, Atticus, Cicero. The scene is laid in Cicero's favourite villa at Tusculum, at a time when Rome was awaiting the result of Cæsar's campaign in Africa, and before Brutus had left for his province of Cisalpine Gaul. The preface mentions the recent death of Hortensius: a review of the history of Greek oratory follows: and then a more elaborate account of the orators of Rome, with many interesting personal characteristics. Among Roman orators are included Gaius Gracchus, Crassus, Antonius, Julius Cæsar and Cicero himself.

It remained for Cicero to sketch the ideal orator, the pattern of perfect eloquence. He does this in the *Orator*, also written in 46 B.C., when he had reached the age of sixty. The civil war, which had lasted for four years, had virtually ended at Thapsus with the victory of Cæsar over Pompey's followers. News had come of the death of Cato, who had killed himself at Utica, rather than serve Cæsar.

Cicero dedicates the *Orator* to Brutus, who was on the side of the Attic school of oratory. Cicero's leanings, at least in practice, were towards the Asiatic school. To the strict Atticists the fulness and richness of Cicero seemed turgid and bombastic. The work, therefore, is one of self-justification: though con-

Authors of Rome

vinced of the greatness of Demosthenes, Cicero could not leave out of account his own labours. He defines the truly eloquent orator as one who has a mastery over all styles, the plain, the grand and the intermediate, and then proceeds to illustrate the point by examples taken from his own speeches. Modern taste is offended at this, and considers it a proof of vanity : but we should remember that it was done in self-defence.

Two of the most important sections in the *Orator* are those on euphony and rhythm. Cicero saw that the Latin language, being less euphonious than the Greek, required a rhythm that was fuller and ampler than that of Greek oratory : he also saw that a rich and even redundant style was agreeable to a Roman audience. The plainness and simplicity of such Greek writers as Lysias would—he held—be flat and heavy, if closely followed by Latin writers. This conclusion is accepted by Quintilian, who devotes to it a careful criticism (in his twelfth book) : “ we cannot be as graceful (as the Greeks), let us be more vigorous : we cannot rival them in subtlety of language, let us make up for this by weight : they have a surer sense of elegant diction, let us surpass them in richness of style.”

Cicero's philosophical works are more important for their style than for the originality of their contents. Philosophy was not a leading interest with him, nor was his mind adapted to abstract reasoning. He resorted to philosophy in order to forget his political and private sorrows. Before Cicero, scarcely anything had been written in Latin and in prose on

the subject : Lucretius' poem, which expounded the atomic theory of Democritus and the ethics of Epicurus, appeared in 54 B.C. Cicero supplied the want in regard to prose by translations and compilations from the Greeks. He drew partly on Plato and Aristotle, but mainly on later writers. The schools in which he was interested were the Stoic, Epicurean and the "New Academy," named from Plato's Academy. He was attracted by the morality of the Stoics, which had been modified to suit the practical Roman temperament : he was repelled by the Epicureans, partly because they made pleasure the chief good, partly because of their neglect of literary style. He himself belonged to the "New Academy," who were free to hear all arguments, for and against, and to accept the conclusion that at the moment appeared most probable. The normal form of a philosophical dialogue of Cicero is the exposition of the Stoic and of the Epicurean views, followed by a rather unconvincing Academic summary, with a leaning to the Stoic side. It has been pointed out that this method was a movement towards greater freedom in speculation. The Roman, who took his philosophy at second-hand, felt himself less bound than the Greek to follow the tradition of his school.

The most important of Cicero's philosophical works are given in the order in which they appeared. First come two works on political philosophy : the "Republic," and the "Laws." The *de republica* is a dialogue in six books, of which about one-third has come down to us. It was written in 54 B.C., and concerns the best form of government. The speakers are Scipio Africanus the younger, and members of his circle.

Authors of Rome

Part of the sixth book, the dream of Scipio (based on a passage in Plato's *Republic*), was circulated separately, and was preserved as a fragment by the late writer Macrobius (end of fourth century A.D.). About one hundred years ago, other portions of the work were discovered in the Vatican library at Rome, on a palimpsest, that is, a manuscript from which the first writing has been rubbed off in order to make the leaves ready to receive fresh writing.

Cicero's work on the "laws" (*de legibus*) was begun in 52, and resumed in 46 B.C. We possess three books, with fragments of the remaining three. It follows Plato's work *the Laws*, and the form of the dialogue is modelled on Plato : but much attention is paid to the state of law at Rome.

These works were followed by others on philosophy : its theory, its practice, its history.

"On the supreme good and evil" (*de finibus bonorum et malorum*), is a compilation from Greek sources. The scene of the dialogue is laid in Cicero's own time. Torquatus expounds the Epicurean doctrine, which is answered by Cicero. Marcus Porcius Cato sets out the Stoic doctrine. Finally we have the doctrine of the Academy, and of the Peripatetic school (derived from Aristotle). This work is written with great care. It appeared in 45 B.C., and was dedicated to Brutus.

The *Academica*, written in 45 B.C., contain a survey of the history of philosophy, with special reference to the doctrines of the New Academy. Two books have been preserved (one incomplete).

The *Tusculanæ Disputationes* ("Discussions at Tusculum") were begun in 45 B.C. They treat of the

troubles which beset human happiness : of the nature of death, the endurance of pain : wisdom triumphing over sorrow and mental distress : virtue sufficient to secure happiness. The treatment is popular : and it is enlivened with quotations from the Greek poets translated into Latin by Cicero.

The work *On the nature of the gods* was written in 44 B.C. In the first book is set out the doctrine of Epicurus : in the second, the Stoic discusses the existence of the gods, the government of the world, Providence. This in turn is criticised in the third book. From this work the English school of Deists or Free-thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries borrowed arguments in favour of natural as opposed to revealed religion.

Cato maior (Cato the elder), or *de senectute* (on old age) was written early in 44 : but the scene is laid in 150 B.C. It is a lecture, or essay. Cato, addressing Scipio and Lælius, sets forth the praises of old age. Reference is made to Socrates as depicted by Xenophon and Plato.

Lælius, or *de amicitia* (on friendship), is a dialogue between Lælius and his sons-in-law. It expounds the theory of friendship, with reference to the recent death of Scipio. It was written in 44. The work on "moral duties" (*de officiis*) was addressed by Cicero to his son Marcus. It also was written in 44. The tone is Stoic : many illustrations are drawn from Roman history. The treatment of honour (*honestum*) as opposed to expediency is adapted to the Roman conscience. Rules are not stretched too tight.

Cicero's letters give us an insight into Roman life

The Sidney B. Coulter Library
Onondaga Community College
Rte. 173, Onondaga Hill
Syracuse, New York 13215

Authors of Rome

and history at a most interesting time, when the republic was beginning to break up, and the convulsions which preceded the civil war were like the rolling thunder which heralds the coming storm. The letters begin in 68 B.C. and go on, with few interruptions, to 43, the year of his death. There are two important collections: one consisting of letters addressed to Titus Pomponius Atticus, his most intimate friend: the second, to his other friends (*ad familiares*). Each of these collections is in sixteen books: they contain some letters written to Cicero by his friends. We also have letters to his brother Quintus (60 to 54 B.C.): and letters to Brutus (43 B.C.). Cicero's style in his letters is colloquial: the sentences are short, the order of words is less formal than in his speeches: but sometimes, when he is writing to persons with whom he is not quite at his ease, he composes in his usual elaborate style. The letters to Atticus reveal Cicero as he was: they are a private journal, "his confessions to the director of his conscience, the record of his moods from day to day." They are almost as unsparing in their revelations of self as Pepys' diary. They were not published till long after Cicero's death: and some of them were not intended to be published.¹ Those to his other friends were published by his freedman Tiro.

The historical value of these letters is very great. We are admitted behind the scenes, and allowed to read the secret history of the times: some of it scandalous, much of it amusing. The references to Julius Cæsar are of special interest. Cicero was

¹ In this respect they are like those of Gray, Cowper, Horace Walpole: not like those of Pliny, Seneca, Madame de Sévigné.

attracted by him, but somewhat afraid of him. The other correspondents have each his characteristics : Cælius Rufus (his letters to Cicero are among the wittiest in the collection) : Sulpicius (whose letter of condolence on the death of Tullia is admirable in tone and expression), Pætus, Matus, Plancus, Cassius. In respect of self-revelation, after the letters to Atticus come those to Quintus Cicero. We find many details of the married life of the brothers : neither was very happy. Terentia, wife of Cicero, was overbearing : Pomponia, wife of Quintus, had a " nagging " temper.

In the revival of learning, the letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus were recovered at Verona by Petrarch (1345). " This discovery was a decisive moment in the history of the Renaissance, and from it all modern study of Cicero dates." Cicero had been a shadowy figure, a mere name : henceforth he was a personality, human and lovable. Petrarch (born 1304, died 1374) writes to him an imaginary letter blaming him for deserting philosophy and entering civil strife : " why didst thou renounce the leisure which befitted thy years, thy profession, and thy state of life ? Why did the false glamour of glory entangle thee in the battles of young warriors, and hurry thee haphazard to a death unworthy of a philosopher ? " But he continued to search for Cicero's writings : an active part was also played in the search by Poggio (1380 to 1459) Secretary to the Council of Constance, who discovered a number of Cicero's speeches in the monasteries of France and Switzerland.

The letters have made known certain faults in Cicero the politician, such as his insincerity. He was

Authors of Rome

all things to all men, he lavished public compliments in his speeches on men whose conduct (as the letters prove) he disliked. He must be allowed some of the privileges of an advocate, but he strains the privilege. Thus he thought of defending Catiline, though he says (in a letter to Atticus) that his guilt is as clear as noonday. His vanity is also made manifest; he writes, for instance, in a letter to Luceius, asking him to complete his history of Cicero's consulship, "I want to enjoy my little bit of glory in my lifetime."

Some German critics, headed by Mommsen (*History of Rome*) used Cicero's letters as a store of ammunition from which to attack him: they contrasted his weakness and irresolution in public life with the splendid if ruthless efficiency of Cæsar. This criticism was partly inspired by the worship of Cæsarism (Kaiserismus) prevalent in Germany before the war.

The letters also show that, in his private life, Cicero was attractive and lovable, that he had many friends among the statesmen and writers of his time, and was without a trace of jealousy or envy in his relations with them. The poet Catullus speaks of Cicero as the greatest of Rome's advocates, and as a benefactor. Cicero himself said that "his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal." He was essentially a family man: he loved his children, and was plunged in grief at the death of his daughter Tullia. He was fond of his brother Quintus: and kind to his servants. He had a warm regard for his freedman Tiro, who published his letters.

A brief reference to Cicero's verses will be sufficient. They were chiefly copied from the Greek. Thus he

translated into Latin hexameters the poem of Aratus on *Celestial Phenomena*. We have considerable fragments of this translation, which was known to the poet Lucretius, and made use of by him. In regularity of rhythm and in range of vocabulary Cicero's verse marks an advance on the work of his predecessors.

The influence of Cicero on style and thought has been very great. In the early ages of Christianity it was actually greater than it had been in the century after his death. The Church regarded Cicero as a philosopher, and was chiefly interested in the ethical side of his teaching. Ambrose of Milan (A.D. 340 to 397) used Cicero's book on "moral duties" when writing one with a similar title, which remained for many centuries the chief Christian manual upon morals. Augustine of Hippo (A.D. 354 to 430) was a great student of Cicero in his youth: Jerome (340 to 420) was accused in a vision of being not a Christian but a Ciceronian: "since, where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also." In the Middle Ages Cicero had great fame (as a writer on rhetoric): but he was overshadowed by the figure of Virgil, partly because Virgil was considered to have foretold in his fourth eclogue the coming of the Messiah.

The revival of Cicero is due to Petrarch, whose discovery of the letters to Atticus has been mentioned. After the ensuing discovery of many speeches, and of the oratorical treatises, there came a period when Cicero's style was greatly imitated: in fact, in the fifteenth century the whole of Christian doctrine is restated in the language of Cicero. A revolt against this was headed by Erasmus; we ought (he thinks)

Authors of Rome

to be content to preserve the spirit of Cicero, but not so as to lose our own individuality. In England, Roger Ascham tells us that the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth read with him nearly the whole of Cicero. The work on *the nature of the gods* was a text-book with the English Free-thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, owing to its teaching of natural religion. The great preachers of France—Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon—were influenced by him. Both in England and France, at the end of the eighteenth century,¹ there was constant imitation and quotation of Cicero : in England for his style (Johnson, Burke, Gibbon and parliamentary orators) in France rather for his regicide doctrines, as shown in his references to the death of Cæsar.

To Cicero belongs a glory greater than the glory of his speeches and his books. It is that of “having made Latin, both in its vocabulary and in its structure, a language in which the whole range of human thought could find exact expression.” Latin, as he wrote it, became in turn the mother of the language and literature of the Romance tongues. And he has had much to do with the moulding of English. In fact, it is not too much to claim for him the credit of making European prose into an instrument of thought : and in so far as Latin was, and is, a universal language, it gained that position because it was the speech of Cicero.

Next after that achievement comes his work in the field of oratory. His speeches, and his writings on the theory and history of oratory, will never cease to be important. The speeches are not

¹ De Quincey, the latest of our great Ciceronians, wrote in the nineteenth century.

only professional exercises, but literature : studied eloquence, written for educated men who were accustomed to use language for the purpose of persuasion, and full of useful lessons for educated men of to-day. The rhythm of Cicero in these works is as artistic as that of Virgil's poetry : the units which compose his long sentences have each a rhythm of its own, and any alteration or omission of a word would spoil the effect. The prose rhythms of the best ages of prose in our own literature, such as the late Elizabethan and Jacobean (Authorised Version, 1611), have been built up upon the example of Cicero.

Next in importance come his letters, which continue to be a model. The art of letter-writing rose at once, in his hand, to its full perfection. The great letter writers of modern times, English and French, and the writers of memoirs, which belong to the epistolary class in their habit of self-revelation, are followers of Cicero. In his letters Cicero has one virtue which by itself would atone for many weaknesses. He is never dull.

TRANSLATIONS :

Select speeches (against Catiline, for Murena, for Milo, Second Philippic) : Blakiston (Methuen), 1894.

On old age, and on friendship : Loeb Library, 1922.

On moral duties : G. B. Gardiner (Methuen), 1899 : Loeb Library, 1913.

On the highest good : Loeb Library (Rackham), 1914.

Authors of Rome

On the nature of the gods : F. Brooks (Methuen), 1896.

Letters : Shuckburgh (Bell), in 4 vols., 1904.

Letters to Atticus : Loeb Library (E. O. Winstedt).

Select Letters : G. E. Jeans (Macmillan), 1901.

Other works :

Strachan Davidson : *Cicero (in Heroes of the Nations)*, 1894.

A. Clark : in *English Literature and the Classics*.¹

W. Warde Fowler : *Social Life at Rome in the age of Cicero* (Macmillan), 1908.

G. Boissier : *Cicéron et ses amis* : translated by A. D. Jones (Innes & Co.), 1897.

¹ *English Literature and the Classics* is a volume of essays collected by G. S. Gordon, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912.

Attack on CATILINE. (In Catalinam : Act 1., Scene 1.)

“How long, I ask you, Catiline, will you continue to abuse our patience? How long shall we be baffled by your reckless temper? What bounds will you set to your unbridled audacity? Have you not been impressed by the nightly guards upon the Palatine, by Rome’s system of sentries, by the alarm of the people, the rallying of all good citizens, by the convening of the senate in this closely guarded spot, by the looks and expression of all here? Do you not see that your schemes are exposed, that your plot is held in a tight grip, because all here know the truth? Do you suppose that there is one of us who does not know what you did last night, and the night before, where you were, whom you summoned, what plans you formed? Alas, how degenerate are these days! The senate is aware of the facts, the consul perceives them, and yet Catiline remains alive.”

Attack on MARK ANTONY. Second Philippic : beginning and end.)

“To what strange fatality in my life, my lords, am I to ascribe the fact that no traitor in the past twenty years has attacked Rome who has not at the same moment declared war upon me? I need not mention the names of individuals: you can recall them to yourselves. The others have paid a penalty even more severe than I could wish: and I am surprised, Antony, that in following their example you do not apprehend their fate.

“Reflect, I pray, Antony, and be wise in time: think of your ancestors and not of your associates. Be reconciled to me or not, as you please: but be reconciled to your country. However, you must do as you see fit: I will state my own intentions. I defended my country when I was a young man: I will not desert her in my old age. I defied the swords of Catiline: I will not be afraid of yours. Indeed I would gladly give my body if the freedom of this country could be won, here and now, by

Authors of Rome

my death, if Rome in her birth-pangs might at last bring forth that deliverance with which she has long been in labour. If twenty years ago in this temple I said that no man who had held the office of consul could complain of an early death, how much more fully shall I apply this to my old age? To me, my lords, death is actually desirable, after the honours which I have attained, and the exploits which I have achieved. I have only two desires left: one, that when I die I may see the people of Rome still free—and no greater boon can be given me by Heaven—the other, that every man may have that recompense which his conduct towards his country may deserve.”

The power of oratory. (de oratore: Book i. 30.)

Crassus began as follows: “I need not encourage you, Sulpicius and Cotta, but would rather praise you for acquiring a power which will not only place you above your contemporaries, but on a level with your elders: nothing is more precious than the gift of holding an audience, winning its sympathies, swaying its feelings this way or that, as one pleases. In every free country, above all in quiet and peaceful communities, this accomplishment has always been powerful and influential. What is there so wonderful as this—that out of a vast multitude of individuals there should be one or two able to do what nature has made possible for all? What so attractive to meet and to listen to, as human speech adorned and embellished by words of weight and by maxims of prudence? What so mighty, so majestic, as to feel that one man can govern the fickle moods of the people, the decisions of a jury bound by its oath, or the weighty deliberations of a senate?”

The world contains proof of design on the part of the Creator. (de natura deorum: Book ii. 34, 87.)

If the parts of which the universe is composed are combined as is best for utility and beauty, let us enquire

whether they are due to chance, or are so placed that they could not remain united unless they were governed by intelligence and divine providence. If, then, the works of nature are superior to those of art, and if art does nothing without the aid of reason, it is impossible to deprive nature of reason altogether. Where is the consistency? We know that art has been called in, when we see a statue or a picture; we believe, on seeing a ship sailing at a distance, that reason and art direct its movements; we understand, as we study a sundial marked out with lines, that art, not chance, enables the hours to be told, and yet we consider that purpose and reason have no part in the universe, which contains within it these very arts, and those who profess them. If anyone carried to Seythia¹ or Britain the orrery made not long ago by our friend Posidonius, a single revolution of which produces the same effect, in the case of the sun, the moon, and the five planets, as every day and night produces in the heavens, even in that land of savages would anyone doubt that reason had gone to the making of the orrery? Yet in regard to the universe, in which all things have their first beginnings, they doubt whether its composition is the work of chance.

Scipio Africanus the younger tells how he dreamt that he was taken up to the Milky Way, and heard the music of the spheres, which was explained to him by the elder Scipio. (de republica: vi. 17. Somnium Scipionis: ch. 8.)

As I gazed more closely upon the earth beneath, Africanus said: "How long will your thoughts remain fixed upon the ground? Do you not see the sacred region to which you have come? The universe is formed of nine spheres or globes. First comes the heavenly sphere, which is outermost, and embraces all the rest; itself the supreme divinity, which envelops and sustains all. In

¹ The original of Paley's argument founded on the effect produced on the mind of a savage by contemplating a watch.

Authors of Rome

this sphere are fixed the eternal orbits of the stars¹ as they revolve : and beneath it are seven other spheres² which revolve backwards, in a reverse motion to the Empyrean. One of these belongs to that star which men call Saturn. Next comes the bright planet of Jupiter, auspicious and beneficent to mankind : then the blood-red and terrible Mars : next below is the sun which holds a middle position, as the leader and chief controller of the other lights, the soul and ruling spirit of the world, of such a size that it fills and illuminates all things with its light. The sun is followed by its companions, Venus and Mercury. Lowest of the seven, revolves the moon, lighted by the sun's rays. Beneath the moon is nothing but that which is mortal and perishes, save the souls which were bestowed by the gods upon men. Above the moon, all things are eternal. The earth, which is the ninth, is in the centre and does not move. It is the lowest, and towards it all bodies are carried by their own weight." I continued to look upon this scene, spell bound : but when I came to myself, I asked Africanus "What is that low sweet sound that fills my ears ?" He replied, "it is caused by the speed and motion of the spheres themselves : and the notes, though separated by unequal intervals, are nevertheless calculated according to just proportions. The deep and the high notes are blended together into one even harmony. Such mighty bodies cannot move in silence : and Nature so disposes them that the extremes on one side have a deep, on the other a high note. The most lofty sphere, the starry Empyrean, turns very swiftly, and emits a high and piercing note. The moon, the lowest planet, has the deepest note. The earth, the ninth, remains motionless, always in the same position, namely the centre of the universe. The eight spheres, two of which have the same musical value, produce seven sounds marked out by intervals, the number seven being the node of almost all things. Musicians have copied this in their stringed instruments and songs, and have won for themselves a

¹ The fixed stars.

² The planets

return to this place, as others have done who by their pre-eminent genius have practised divine studies during their lives as men."

Cicero to his wife and children: written in exile
58 B.C. (*ad familiares* : xiv. 1.)

Greetings to my Terentia, and little Tullia, and to Cicero. I learn, both from many correspondents, and from the conversation of all whom I meet, that you are showing bravery and fortitude surpassing belief: that no effort of mind or body wearies you. Alas, to think that a woman of your brave, loyal, honest and affectionate heart should have fallen into such troubles on my account: and that my little Tullia should derive so much pain from the father from whom she used to receive so many pleasures. Why mention my little Cicero, who from the first moment of conscious feeling has experienced nothing but bitter sorrow and misery? And if, as you say, I thought that this was the work of destiny, I could have borne it somewhat more easily: but it was all brought about by my own fault, in thinking myself loved by those who were really jealous of me, and in failing to join those who really wanted me.

See to your health; mind you send me letter-carriers, so that I may know what is going on, and what you are all doing. Give my love to little Tullia and to Cicero: Good-bye.

To his brother Quintus, who was then in Britain, in Cæsar's army of invasion. Written in 54 B.C.:
(*ad Quintum fratrem* : ii. 15.)

How I welcomed your letter from Britain! I was afraid of the ocean, afraid of the coast of the island. The other parts of the enterprise I do not underrate: but they inspire more hope than fear, and what makes me uneasy is not fear for your future, but anxiety to hear from you. You, however, I can see, have a splendid subject for description; topography, natural features of

Authors of Rome

things and places, manners, races, battles, your commander himself—what themes for your pen! I will gladly, as you request, assist you in any points you like, and will send you the verses you ask for, that is, “an owl to Athens.”¹ But, look you, I think you are keeping me in the dark. Tell me, my dear brother, what Cæsar thinks of my verses. For he wrote before to tell me he had read my first book. Of the first part, he said that he had never read anything better, even in Greek: the rest, up to a particular passage, “a little slipshod”—that is his word.² Tell me the truth—is it the subject-matter or the style he does not like? You needn’t be afraid. I shall not admire myself one whit the less. On this subject speak like a lover of truth, and with your usual brotherly frankness.

To Atticus : written in 51 B.C. (ad Atticum : v. 1.)

Yes, I saw well enough what your feelings were as I parted from you. What mine were, I am my own witness. This makes it all the more necessary for you to prevent an additional decree being passed,³ so that this mutual regret of ours may not last more than a year. I now come to that last line, your letter written crossways, in which you give me a word of caution about your sister.⁴ The facts are these: on arriving at my place at Arpinum, my brother came to see me, and our first subject of conversation was yourself, and we discussed you at great length. After this, I mentioned what you and I had discussed at Tusculum, on the subject of your sister. I never saw anyone so quiet and gentle as my brother was on that occasion towards your sister, so that any annoyance he felt on the score of expenses could not be detected. We lunched at Areanum. You know his property there. When we got there, Quintus said, in the kindest manner, “Pomponia, do you ask the ladies in, I will invite the men.” Nothing, as I thought, could be more courteous,

¹ “Coals to Newcastle.” ² Cæsar used a Greek word.

³ Prolonging the proconsulship.

⁴ Pomponia, wife of Quintus Cicero.

and that not only in the actual words but also in his intention, and the expression of his face. But she, in the hearing of us all, exclaimed, "I am only a stranger here." The origin of that was, as I think, the fact that Statius had preceded us to look after the luncheon. Thereupon Quintus said to me, "There, that is what I have to put up with every day."

LUCRETIVS

TITUS LUCRETIVS CARUS (Lucretius) was born probably in 99 B.C., and died in 55 B.C. The only statement about his life which has come down to us from ancient times is made by Jerome, who wrote about A.D. 400, but was following an earlier authority. Jerome tells us that Lucretius lost his reason, as the result of a love potion which was administered to him : that in his lucid intervals he composed his poem, which was corrected by Cicero : and that he died by his own hand. Tennyson has made use of this story of the madness in his poem *Lucretius*.

Cicero mentions Lucretius once, in a letter to his brother Quintus, who was then in Britain (54 B.C.). The text and interpretation of this passage are uncertain, but the sense seems to be " I agree with you that there is much genius in the poem of Lucretius, and also (though this is more surprising) much art ! " The form of the sentence is probably due to the fact that Epicurean philosophy as a rule despised the graces of style.

Lucretius was of good family. In the dedication of his poem, he addressed Memmius, who was an important man of the time, in terms of equality. He was an ardent student of philosophy, especially that of Epicurus (342 to 270 B.C.), whose system he expounded in his poem *De rerum natura*, " on the nature of the universe." Other Greek writers whom he used are Homer, Euripides, Thucydides : and the philosophers Empedocles and Democritus. He mentions Heraclitus and Anaxagoras, but only to refute them. Among Latin writers named by him with

praise is Ennius, who wrote epic poetry, tragedy and satire.

From the many references to nature which are found in Lucretius, it is probable that he spent much of his time away from Rome, among country scenes, or by the sea. He does not seem to have taken part in public life, from which Epicureans as a rule abstained.

The *De rerum natura* is a didactic poem, that is, one whose object is to teach, to instruct. Its title is taken from the Greek; a work "on nature" was written in the fifth century B.C. by Empedocles, a native of Agrigentum in Sicily, and, as we have seen, was utilised by Lucretius. Empedocles wrote in hexameter verse. Some portions of his poem, which is a philosophical rhapsody on the operations of nature, have come down to us.

Lucretius writes with a purpose: which is to set mankind free from the burden of fear, to dispel the darkness of ignorance by the light of truth, and by displaying to man the aspect and laws of nature. He argues with great earnestness against the immortality of the soul, and the belief that the gods interfere with the affairs of men. He is at once a philosophical teacher, a moral reformer and satirist, and a poet.¹

His first two books give a full account of the atomic theory of Democritus (born 460 B.C.), which Epicurus adopted, and transferred bodily into his system of Philosophy. According to this theory, the whole universe consists of two things, body and void. Body, or as we should now say, matter, is composed of atoms, which differ in size, shape and weight, and are

¹ I adopt the division made by Sellar in *Roman Poets of the Republic*.

Authors of Rome

unlimited in number : they are devoid of sense and colour. They have existed from everlasting, and are solid and indivisible. They are in constant motion, impelled down by their weight, and sideways by blows from other atoms. They are so small that our eyes cannot perceive them.

Void is the empty space in which bodies move. It is unlimited in extent. Our world was formed by a concourse of atoms, which took up positions enabling them to move for a time without separating from one another. This is the result of chance, and the world thus formed can be unformed, whereupon the atoms will continue to hurry through void till they can combine once more. So far this is taken from Democritus : the four remaining books apply this theory to the phenomena which give rise to the terrors of superstition.

The third book treats of the nature of the mind, and of the vital principle. These are parts of the man as much as his hands or feet. The mind is the directing principle : its seat is in the breast. The vital principle is diffused over the whole body, and is in sympathy with the mind. These two form part of the soul, which is born with the body, grows and decays with it, and finishes in death along with the body. Thus fear of death, and of eternal torment after death, is shown to be groundless.

The fourth book treats of the images which all objects cast off from themselves : images thus propelled from the surface of bodies, and borne through space, appear to the living either in dreams or in waking visions. Hence the widespread belief in the ghosts of the dead ; the deception is not in our senses,

but in our minds, which interpret wrongly the evidence of the senses. An account of sleep follows: and of the passion of love, which is dependent on the action of the images on the mind. It is described with keen satire.

The fifth book explains the formation of earth, sea, sky, sun, moon: the origin of life upon the earth, and the advance of human nature from a savage state to the arts and customs of civilised life. The object is to show that our system and our life were produced, and are maintained, by natural agency: that all progress is the result of natural experience, not of Divine guidance. All the parts of our system are perishable. It had a beginning: it will also have an end. The world was formed not by design, but as the result of combination of the atoms through infinite time. Those which had affinities with one another combined, and separated from the rest: earthly particles sank to the centre, sun and moon were formed from lighter particles, the empyrean from the lightest of all. The earth is at rest in the centre of our system, supported by the air. The movement of sun, moon and stars is next explained. Then the origin of life on the earth, the beginning and progress of human society: plants, trees, men and animals: many of the animals which were originally produced afterwards became extinct. Man's earliest condition was one liable to danger and destruction, but his vigour defended him from danger. Domestic union, and the affection caused by children, were the first softening influence. The origin of language is explained: then that of society, religion, the arts.

The sixth book is devoted to an explanation of

Authors of Rome

natural phenomena, the last remaining source of superstition: including thunderstorms, tempests, volcanoes, earthquakes, which are usually ascribed to the action of the gods. The book ends with an account of the plague of Athens (430 B.C.), which closely follows the account given by Thucydides. The arrangement of this book is clearly not final: and the workmanship of the last three books is less careful. It is probable that the poem did not receive the last touches from Lucretius' hand.

Thus the last four books apply the doctrine set forth in the first two: the world and all that it contains, including man, was not created by Divine power. Nature is controlled by law, indeed nature is law. Two formulæ recur in which the principle governing the world is expressed. "Nothing is ever begotten of nothing by Divine will": everything springs from *semina certa*, determinate units. And conversely, "Things cannot ever be turned to naught." This is the principle of the indestructibility of matter, the foundation on which modern chemistry and physics have been built up.

Lucretius influenced the whole of modern science by this insistence on the operation of law as an explanation of phenomena often attributed to arbitrary influences.

The influence of the atomic theory of Democritus upon modern chemistry and physics is incontestable, though the work of Dalton (1766 to 1844), which revolutionised chemical theory, was not immediately inspired by Lucretius. In this connection, we should note in Lucretius the first beginnings of bacteriology. In discussing the nature of the Athenian plague,

Lucretius applies the theory of atoms thus: "as there are seeds of things helpful to life, so others fly about that cause disease and death." A Veronese physician, named Fracastoro (1483 to 1553), based upon Lucretius (who was first printed in 1473) a theory of infection by seeds of disease which were somewhat like the Lucretian atoms: but the modern theory and practice is the work of last century (Pasteur, 1822 to 1895).

Lucretius was one of the founders of anthropology: the development of civilised life on the earth was never more clearly stated, in broad outline, than in Lucretius' fifth book. In this book we find the germs of the modern doctrine of evolution. The process of selection is stated by Lucretius to have begun in primitive times, when the earth essayed to create monsters "things bereft of feet, things without hands, things locked together by the clinging of the limbs so that they could not move, nor avoid calamity, nor take what they needed." But these races died out: they could not beget their kind: "for whatever animals now feed on the breath of life, either craft or courage or speed has preserved their kind from the beginning of their being." Here is natural selection, operating through the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. Furthermore, in the emphasis which he lays upon the close connection between the soul and the body, resulting in the weakness or disease of the one being transmitted to the other, Lucretius anticipates some conclusions of the modern psycho-analysts.

The Epicurean philosophy in itself is ill suited for poetic treatment, and the atomic theory does not lend itself to embellishment. But Lucretius over-

Authors of Rome

comes some of these difficulties by his wonderful enthusiasm. "He is aflame with his theme, and exhibits a veritable missionary zeal." Modern conceptions of the teaching of Epicurus do not do justice to the true aims of that philosopher, according to whom the end of life was "pleasure," in the sense of tranquillity, peace and a pure mind; for pleasure depended on the mind more than on external things. This view provided the Romans with a rule of life which was in keeping with their matter-of-fact minds : and it held the field as a rival of the Stoic creed, which likewise gave its followers a rule, a discipline to live by. Lucretius bestows on the philosophy of Epicurus an "austere beauty and grave nobility" such as we should think more appropriate to Stoicism,¹ and such as Milton gave to our Puritan Theology. Lucretius has been called the Roman Milton : both poets have in them something of the stern spirit of the Hebrew prophets.

As a moral teacher, Lucretius repeats the lessons of Epicurus. The secret cause of man's unhappiness is within him ; the vessel into which blessings are poured is a leaky vessel. The evils which blight our happiness are cowardice, weakness, restless desires, apathy to natural enjoyment. All these are the result of over-indulgence, and of luxury. The aim of the moral teaching of Epicurus was therefore to free the heart from superstition, the fear of death, the passion of ambition and love, from artificial as opposed to natural pleasures. Superstition is the worst of evils :

¹ Contrast the teaching of Omar Khayyám, who made sensual pleasure the serious purpose of life, as the result of a revolt from his country's religion.

it depends on belief in the arbitrary power of the gods, which Lucretius declares to be a burden that degrades and corrupts our lives. The story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is told in order to show how religious belief can go against the human affections. "Such ills could superstition prompt." In presence of the gods, man should not prostrate himself upon the earth, but rather look at all things with a mind at peace. Lucretius believed in the existence of gods, and in their power to reveal themselves to men. He speaks of the aim of man as being to "lead a life worthy of the gods"; the chief feature of this life was peace. The gods, according to Epicurus, are immortal, and happy: but their happiness would be disturbed if they sympathised with the sorrows of man. They live in spaces between the worlds where no storms ever come, where nothing can mar their majestic and eternal tranquillity. The description is taken from the description of heaven in the *Odyssey*: "the holy presence of the gods becomes visible, and their peaceful abodes, which the winds never shake, nor the clouds besprinkle with rain: nor the snow, congealed by keen frost, and falling white, assails them: they are ever wrapped in cloudless ether, they shine with light far-spread." We may compare Tennyson (*Passing of Arthur*):

"The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not hail or rain or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, fair with orchard lawns,
And bowery hollows crowned with summer sea."

The reverence of Lucretius is bestowed not on gods but on men: especially on Epicurus, whom he calls

Authors of Rome

the pride of Greece, the sun who at his rising extinguished the lesser stars. But he has also an impersonal reverence for the power and mystery of Nature : especially as exhibited in those phenomena which present something magnificent or dramatic : thunder and lightning, volcanoes, great pestilences. He has a poetical sympathy with some of the ceremonies of that religion which he attacks. The lines with which his poem opens, an invocation to Venus, the delight of gods and men, must be read in this sense : indeed Lucretius regarded Venus not as a goddess but as a power, as part of the action of nature, in which she is everpresent and omnipotent. His moral earnestness is most conspicuous in the third and fourth books : men feel that the sadness of death lies in the separation from wife and children : but they forget that with those blessings disappears all desire for them. Nature herself¹ might utter a reproof to them : “if thy life has given thee joy, and all its blessings have not been poured into a leaky vessel, why dost thou not leave the feast like a satisfied guest, and contentedly take thy repose” ? To old age Nature would speak in sterner words : “Away hence with thy tears and thy complaints. Unable to enjoy the present, thou art ever longing for what is absent, and so death has come on thee unsatisfied.” These complaints deserve no sympathy, for life is given to no man as a freehold, to all men on lease. What time was before we were born, that it shall be when we are dead. Is it not a rest deeper than any sleep ?

The love of luxury had corrupted Rome to a degree which called for some desperate remedy. The appetite

¹ See translation on page 104.

for pleasure, riches, power, and the inability of any of these to give real and enduring happiness, are dwelt upon by Lucretius with great impressiveness. In the fourth book he shows that sensual passion, due to the images that come to the lover from the loved, is equally unsatisfying. Passion is stripped of all romance, and shown to be fatal to peace of mind. In the proclamation of the emptiness of life as lived by most men, he reminds us of Ecclesiastes: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, saith the preacher." But in his praise of the simple life, his proof that happiness depends not upon wealth but upon a pure heart, he suggests the moral teaching of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, in which several passages bear traces of the influence of Lucretius on thought or expression.

In the third aspect, that of a poet, Lucretius has scarcely done justice to his own powers. He has subordinated poetry to science. He compares poetry to the sweetness which doctors place on the rim of a cup of unpleasant medicine, so that children may be induced to drink that which is bitter but health-giving. Lucretius is free from the mythological learning, used merely as ornament, which is found in most Latin poets of his time. Even Catullus, who was one of the most original of them, was learned in Greek legend, and imitated and translated Callimachus, the scholar poet of Alexandria. Lucretius is too much in earnest to use learning as an ornament: and his attitude towards the gods excludes the employment of mythology, except by way of reference to the beliefs of other men. He is a vigorous writer of Latin at its best and purest period, just before it had completed

Authors of Rome

its development, the period of energy joined with correctness. There is a touch of the archaic in his language, which contains a number of old words and forms. Some of them may have come from Ennius, whom he greatly admired. Assonance and alliteration are also common in Lucretius : these are frequent in early Latin. His metre again is midway between the rude unpolished lines of Ennius and the elaborate rhythm of Virgil : he has a freer dactylic movement than Ennius, but he has not studied elision or cæsure as Virgil did, as a means of giving variety to his music.

The descriptive power of Lucretius marks him as a true poet. He has a strong sense of the beauty of the world, and constantly recurs to it for its own sake, or to draw lessons from it. It is especially as a poet of nature that Lucretius influenced Virgil.

These two great poets present certain similarities : their tenderness in face of man's vain labour or futile ambitions : the reverence which each felt for that which was noble and of good report : their belief in the dignity of man : their love of home : their love of animals : and not least their love of nature. The difference between them is also easily felt, and can be seen even in these points of similarity : thus the tenderness of Lucretius has in it something of superiority, of condescension, as that of an observer who sees others struggling in the grasp of troubles or passions from which he is free. In Virgil, pity is that of one man for other men. Again, in regard to nature, Lucretius is a contemplative student, who looks below the surface of things to trace causes or analogies : Virgil is the observer and lover. Lucretius sees nature chiefly as the background to human life :

Virgil, as to be studied for herself. In the technique of their poetry there is a further difference. The swing and rush and impetuosity of Lucretius, which correspond to his intense nature, are contrasted with the quiet even flow of the melodious river of Virgil's poetry. The strong rugged archaic language of Lucretius, who wants above all to be clear, is contrasted with the delicacy of Virgil, full of shades of meaning, blended so that no man can say which was uppermost in the poet's mind. Lucretius had a more logical grasp, a greater power of analysing abstract ideas. He grips his subject tightly : his description of the formation of the world out of atoms is a marvel of close reasoning. The imagination of Lucretius is the more robust : he had larger visions of Nature, of the world under the dominion of law, of sun and moon and planets pursuing their regular path, of thunder and lightning obeying the law not of God but of nature. But Virgil, if not so great in power of mind or of original thought, is, by universal admission, the greater artist.

TRANSLATION :

Prose, C. Bailey : Oxford, 1910.

Other works :

Dimsdale : *A History of Latin Literature* (Heinemann), 1915.

Sellar : *Roman Poets of the Republic*.

J. Masson : *Atomic Theory of Lucretius*, 1884, and *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*, 1909.

C. Martha : *Le poème de Lucrèce* (4th edn.), 1885.

Authors of Rome

Invocation to Venus : i. 1.

Mother of the Æneadæ,¹ delight of men and gods, life-giving Venus, who beneath the gliding stars of heaven dost permeate the sea that bears its navies, and the fertile earth, for through thee every kind of living thing is conceived, and, rising up, visits the light of the sun ; before thee, goddess, and before thy coming the winds flee, and the clouds of heaven : for thee the variegated earth sends up sweet flowers, for thee the waters of ocean smile, and heaven shines tranquilly with far-flung light. For so soon as the vernal aspect of the day has been opened wide, and the quickening breath of the west wind blows fresh from its prison-bars, first the birds of the air smitten in heart by thy power, O goddess, give sign of thee and of thy approach. Then all cattle bound over the luxurious pasture, and swim across rapid rivers : each, captured by thy grace, follows thee blindly where-soever thou proceedest as guide. And throughout seas, mountains, hurrying streams, and leafy homes of birds, the grassy plains, darting into every breast the enticements of love, thou dost cause them blindly to continue their race, each after its kind. Since then thou alone rulest the nature of things, since without thee nothing rises up to the wondrous regions of light, nothing joyful, nothing lovely is created, I would have thee as partner in the writing of these verses which I now attempt to frame upon the nature of things for our Memmius, whom thou, goddess, hast willed to have no rival in all those gifts wherewith he is adorned.

Man's vain ambitions : contrasted with his few natural wants. (ii. 1.)

It is sweet, when the sea is high, when the winds trouble its waters, from land to look out on another in sore trial : not because it is a joy and pleasure that any should be hard-pressed, but because it is sweet to see

¹ Trojans : but here, Romans (descended from Troy).

those evils from which you are yourself free. Sweet, too, it is to watch the great opposing ranks of war drawn up across the plains without share of danger to yourself. But nothing brings more happiness than to occupy the serene stronghold of philosophy, well fortified, raised by knowledge, whence you can look down upon others, and see them everywhere wandering, looking for the road of life from which they have strayed, matching mind against mind, or engaged in the rivalry of rank, as they strive night and day with exceeding great effort to rise to the summit of power and gain the mastery. O miserable minds of men, O breasts that are blind : in what darkness of life, in what great dangers is spent our little span of years ! . . . Therefore in respect of the body's nature we see that but little is needed. Nor does Nature herself ask, sometimes, for any greater comfort. Though no golden statues of youths hold up in their right hands blazing lamps throughout the house, to give light to the nightly revels, though the rooms are not bright with silver, nor gleaming with gold, though no groined nor gilded ceiling re-echoes to the harp, even so, flinging themselves down upon the soft grass close to a running stream, under the boughs of some tall tree, at no great cost they merrily repair their strength : and most of all, when the season smiles upon them, and the year at its spring stars the green grass with flowers.

The cow mourns for her lost calf. (ii. 352.)

Often, in front of some stately temple of the gods, a calf has fallen, struck down beside the incense-burning altars : panting, it sends a jet of hot blood from its breast : but its mother, left desolate, passes over the green glades, recognising the footprints trodden into the ground by the cloven hoofs, and with her eyes surveys each spot in hope of tracing her lost son. She fills with her complaints the leafy wood as she stands still : and often she returns to the stall, smitten with longing for her calf. The soft willow-shoots, the grass refreshed with dew, rivers that gliding fill their banks to the brim, cannot

Authors of Rome

console her mind, nor remove the burden of her care ; and no other forms of calves over the luxuriant pastures can turn aside the current of her thoughts, or ease her of her pain, so constantly does she seek something familiar, something that is her own.

Nature reproaches man for fearing death. (iii. 931.)

If Nature could suddenly utter our speech, and herself could thus rebuke anyone of us : " Mortal, what ails thee so that thou givest the rein to weak repining ? Why dost thou lament death and bewail it ? For if thy past life has brought thee happiness, and all thy joys have not, as if poured into a leaky vessel, run through and perished without any thankfulness, why dost thou not withdraw, like a guest who has had his fill of life, and contentedly take, thou fool, the rest that knows no troubles ? But if all that thou hast ever enjoyed has been wasted, and lost, and life is a burden, why art thou seeking to add that which in turn will be squandered and perish without any thankfulness ? Why not rather make an end of life and labour ? For I have nothing more that I can discover or devise for thy pleasure : all things are ever the same . . . Now, therefore, give up things unfitted to thine age, and come, make way for thy children with a good grace. It must be so." With good reason, I think, she would accuse, in challenging reproach. For the old world is ever giving way, driven out by the new : and one thing must be restored out of another ; and no one is surrendered to the pit of black Tartarus. Matter is needed, that the later generations may grow : and even so they will all have their day and follow thee. All things in former days have fallen, no less than thou, and will fall : and life is granted in perpetuity to none, to all for the enjoying.

Primitive man. (v. 925.)

But the race of men in the fields was then more hardy, as was fitting, for the hard earth had brought it forth :

and built up within upon a framework of larger and more solid bones, and braced by strong sinews through its flesh, so that it could not easily be affected by heat or cold, or change of diet, or any bodily disease. And for many revolving journeys of the sun through heaven they passed a life in the prowling manner of wild beasts. There was no sturdy guide of the bent plough ; no one knew to break up the fields with the share, or place new cuttings of plants in the ground, nor hew with pruning-hooks old branches from the tall trees. That which the sun and rain had given, that which the earth had brought forth of its own accord, was a gift rich enough to satisfy the soul. Among acorn-bearing oaks they would nourish their bodies for the most part ; and the arbutus berries which you now see growing ripe in winter time with crimson hue, the earth then bore larger, and more abundantly : and many coarse foods the vigorous freshness of the world then produced, enough for miserable men. . . . And they did not then know how to use fire for cooking, or to employ skins and clothe their body in the spoils of wild beasts, but lived in woods, and caves in the mountains, and thickets, and would shelter in undergrowth their shaggy limbs, when forced to shun the beating of the wind or rain.

CATULLUS

GAIUS VALERIUS CATULLUS was born at Verona, in 84 B.C., and died, at the age of thirty, in 54 B.C. He is the author of one book, consisting of less than 2500 lines. Yet he is counted among the great lyric poets of the world. He came as a young man to Rome, where he mixed in good society: among his friends were Cornelius Nepos the historian, Cicero, whose eloquence he admired and for whose kindness he had reason to be grateful; also the poets Cinna and Calvus, the orator Cælius, and others of the young literary men and pleasure-lovers of the day.

His love for Lesbia also began at Rome: and proved to be the strongest passion of his life. In his poems we are able to trace its various stages, from early joy and trust, through disillusionment, to contempt and despair. It is accepted that Lesbia's real name was Clodia, the sister of Publius Clodius, and that she was the notorious woman who was attacked by Cicero in his speech for Cælius (56 B.C.). Lesbia was obviously a woman of high rank and of many accomplishments. Her fascination and her immorality appear from the references in the poet: and correspond to the description of Clodia given by Cicero in this speech, and in his letters to Atticus.

The poems of Catullus were written between 62 and 54 B.C., and fall into three divisions: short lyrical pieces¹ in various metres, including the best known of the pieces addressed to Lesbia: eight longer poems, in hexameters or in elegaic verse, which are his most elaborate and serious work:

¹ Numbered 1-60 in the collection.

epigrams on various subjects, in elegiac metre (no. 69 to 116). The arrangement of the poems in these divisions, and the placing of the lyric pieces at the beginning, is probably due to Catullus: but the principle of the arrangement within the divisions is not clear. It was not chronological. The lyrical poems were written under the influence of every mood through which he passed: joy and grief, hatred, scorn; love of his friends; mirth at some ridiculous incident; pride in his yacht, which had made in safety the voyage from the Black Sea to its resting place in Lake Garda in Northern Italy; love of nature combined with pride of ownership, as he contemplates Sirmio,¹ the peninsula which juts out into that lake, and which he has made famous in one of the finest of his lyrics. He is entirely spontaneous in these pieces: he speaks from the heart. He is not, like Horace in his *Odes*, a middle-aged man writing of commonplace themes in language of exquisite finish. Catullus writes simply, sincerely, because he feels as a young man, intensely. He has been compared to Robert Burns, for his force of feeling and expression, for his love of the world of nature, for his firm hold on real life: and it may be added for his pungent satire on pretentiousness and stupidity. In Catullus, "language of faultless music and piercing simplicity ceases to be a mechanism, and seems transmuted into air and fire. No poet, perhaps, has combined such perfect clarity with such intense passion." The affection of Catullus for his only brother, who died young, may be placed in con-

¹ Tennyson alludes to it in his poem "Fratres ave atque vale," as "Sweet Catullus' all-but-island, olive-silvery Sirmio."

Authors of Rome

trast with his love for Lesbia, and forms the subject of more than one poem, written in a strain of tenderness and melancholy, in which perhaps there was some foreboding of his own death.¹

The metres of the lyrics vary : but most are written in the hendecasyllabic metre, that of eleven syllables, of which Tennyson's verses beginning " O ye chorus of indolent reviewers " are an example. Catullus is the first Latin writer to use this, and in his hands its freedom, swiftness, gaiety, suit admirably the subjects to which it is applied—whether playful humour, or satire, or affection. It has the charm of irregularity. The sapphic stanza, which is also used by Catullus, has been taken over from the Greek, but not adapted to the heavier and slower movement of Latin. Horace, who used the same stanza, employs stricter rules, and obtains a more harmonious effect. The elegiac metre, also taken from the Greek, is used by Catullus without change ; he observes no definite rule about stopping the sense at the end of the couplet, or about the number of syllables in the last word of the second line. Ovid achieved greater success by his stricter rules in both these respects. Of the Latin of these lyrics, we can only say that it is astonishing to see the ease with which Catullus moulds this hard and unyielding language to the expression of every one of his fleeting moods. To read Catullus is to recognise the Romance languages as the true daughters of Latin. For example, his fondness for diminutives points onward to a feature of modern Italian.

¹ A similar transition from pure lyric poetry to meditations upon life, as the result of unhappiness in love, was seen in the French Catullus, Alfred de Musset.

The longer poems of Catullus have a more definite artistic purpose. One is a nuptial ode in celebration of the marriage of his friend Manlius, a member of the house of the Torquati : a beautiful poem, in which the purity of married love is lauded in verse of exquisite purity, with real feeling, in imagery drawn from the loveliness of nature. The poet sees Hymenæus coming from the hill of the Muses, singing the song of wedlock. The doors of the house are opened, and the bride is received by the singers outside. The most famous passage is that in which the poet prays that a child may be born to bless the union. "I would that a little Torquatus may stretch his tiny hands from his mother's bosom, and with parted lips sweetly smile upon his father."

Another *Epithalamium*, or marriage song, follows, intended to be sung by young men and maidens in alternate parts. It is written in hexameters ; compared with the preceding poem its tone is calm, impersonal ; and the beauty lies not so much in the sentiment as in the language, especially in the two similes of the flower and the vine. In the first, spoken by the maidens, virginity is a flower growing apart, and safe from all rude hands. It is gathered at marriage, and withers away. The second simile answers the first, and is placed in the mouths of the young men : the unmarried maiden is compared to the vine, growing on a bare field, untended, giving neither profit nor pleasure : but the same vine, when wedded to the elm, is the sign of the dignity and happiness of the bride.

The *Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis* is a miniature epic, such as the Alexandrian poets affected. It may

Authors of Rome

be compared with the separate episodes in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. It contains a plot within a plot : the story of Peleus' marriage gives an opportunity to describe the scene embroidered on the coverlet of the marriage bed. The scene contains the love of Theseus for Ariadne, his adventures in Crete, his desertion of Ariadne, and her reception among the stars as the "Crown of Crete." The lament of Ariadne has been imitated by Virgil in the fourth book of the *Æneid*, and by Ovid.

The *Atys* stands by itself in Catullus. Its subject is the self devotion of the youthful Atys out of zeal for worship of Cybele, mother of the gods, a Phrygian goddess ; the poem is a study of character, in a situation foreign to western experience, and passing into a strange and exalted mysticism born of eastern thought. The excitement of the evening, the wild worship of Cybele, the awaking of the next morning, the sense of desolation, of loss of home, country and parents, are rendered with extraordinary force. No one can doubt the originality of this poem, in its realisation of the feelings of Atys, in its descriptions of scenery, in its vivid language. It is written in a strange wild metre, called "galliambic" ; which Tennyson has used once, in his poem *Boadicea* (beginning,

"While about the shore of Mona those Neronian legionaries").

In the *Coma Berenices* (lock of hair of Queen Berenice) Catullus returns to the thralldom of Alexandrianism. He takes a Greek poem of Callimachus as a task in translation. The neatness and finish of Callimachus are equalled by his frigidity :

but Catullus had, like other young Romans of the time, an admiration for Callimachus which was due to his style rather than to his sincerity or depth of feeling. The original poem, and the translation, are both in elegiac verse.

The main idea, of a tress of hair which, after various vicissitudes, becomes a star, has been made use of by Pope in his *Rape of the Lock*, a mock heroic poem, based on an incident in fashionable life, the cutting of a lock of hair from a court beauty by an admirer. The quarrel which resulted between the two families was turned into a jest by Pope's treatment of the subject, in which profusion of ornament, and distinction of style, are used to set off and elevate the commonest things, in a world of gallantry without deep feeling.

Catullus' poem to Allius, written at Verona, is partly mythological, partly personal. It was composed shortly after his brother's death in Asia Minor, and contains three threads of interest not very successfully combined into a whole: love for Lesbia, the devotion of Laodamia for her husband Protesilaus who fell at Troy, and the death of Catullus' brother among the same scenes. The design is elaborate, but too ingenious: it shows that the influence of Alexandria upon Catullus grew more and more oppressive as time went on.

The third section of his work, short personal poems in elegiac verse, reverts to subjects similar to those of the lyric pieces, but without their gaiety or wit. Some are on Lesbia, her faithlessness, her lover's broken heart, sad musings which are more touching than the raptures of happier days, the hatred which is

Authors of Rome

inseparably united in him with love : other poems are on his friends' literary work, such as the *Smyrna* of the poet Cinna, to which he promises immortality : or on his enemies, including Mentula, his name for Mamurra, the friend of Cæsar. He attacks Cæsar himself, and cares not whether he be " white or black," thus marking his indifference to Cæsar's good opinion. Two other poems in this strange collection are translated on a later page : one is on the Roman cockney, appropriately named Arrius, who had difficulty with his aspirates, the other is among the finest work of Catullus, the brief elegy upon his dead brother, which has all the majesty and sonority of Latin, with a tenderness of which only a few Romans knew the secret.

It is a matter of accident that the poems of Catullus have survived. All existing manuscripts of his poems are copied from one which was discovered in the fourteenth century at Verona, but has since disappeared. If his work had perished, we should have been the poorer by not knowing the best example of Greek clearness and beauty united to Roman strength. We should have been without the experience of one who loved passionately, hated vigorously, and was completely frank in his expression of his various moods. We should fail to appreciate the improvements in the technique of poetry which were being made rapidly at this time, and which can best be realized by comparing the longer hexameter poems of Catullus with the *Bucolics* of Virgil, which dates from about thirteen years later than the death of Catullus. A definite poetical diction and rhythm were worked out by Catullus in various experiments :

the use of the recurring refrain, as in one of Theocritus' poems, ornamental epithets, new compounds, a more regular and stately if somewhat monotonous rhythm in the hexameter, made it possible for Virgil, combining the results achieved by his immediate predecessors, Lucretius and Catullus, of whom he was the sedulous imitator, to achieve his triumphs in the combination of noble thought and diction, in *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and *Æneid*.

Catullus in his lyrics is almost untranslatable. To translate him properly calls for a scholar's knowledge of Latin, a poet's feeling for form, and the passion of a lover. Many have been the attempts, few the successes.

TRANSLATIONS :

Verse : T. Martin, 1876 (with the text) : Sir W. Marris, 1924.

Prose : Warre Cornish (Loeb Library), 1919 (with Tibullus and the *Pervigilium Veneris*).

Other works :

Sellar : *Roman Poets of the Republic*.

Munro : *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* : 2nd end. (Bell), 1905 (advanced).

Authors of Rome

Lesbia's pet sparrow. (iii.)

Weep, weep, ye Loves and Cupids all,
And ilka Man o' decent feelin' :
My lassie's lost her wee, wee bird,
And that's a loss, ye'll ken, past healin'.

The lassie lo'ed him like her een :
The darling wee thing lo'ed the ither,
And knew and nestled to her breast,
As ony bairnie to her mither.

Her bosom was his dear, dear haunt,
So dear, he cared na lang to leave it :
He'd nae but gang his ain sma' jaunt,
And flutter piping back bereavit.

The wee thing's gane the shadowy road
That's never travelled back by ony :
Out on ye, shades! ye're greedy aye
To grab at aught that's brave and bonny.

Puir foolish, fondling, bonnie bird,
Ye little ken what wark ye're leavin' :
Ye've gar'd my lassie's een grow red,
Those bonnie een grow red wi' grievin'.

G. S. DAVIES.

To Lesbia. (v.)

While life is ours, my Lesbia, let us live
Nor care one halfpenny's toss
For all the grudging whispers of the old
Embittered by their loss.
For suns may sink and rise again,
But when our short-lived light is fled,
Then endless night will hold us in her chain
To sleep in narrow bed.
Then come kiss me, sweet, a thousand
Then a hundred more,

A second thousand, quick, a hundred,
Then some fifty score.
Now let's blot the damning entries
Till we know no more.
Lest some greedy rascal grudge our blisses
When he learns the tale of all those kisses.

E. A. N.

Catullus on his home-return to Sirmio. (xxx.)

Of isles and all-but isles, O Sirmio
The gem, whate'er on crystal lake or sea
Wide stretched the dual realms of Neptune know,
How gaily and how glad I look on thee !
Scarce deeming I have left Bithynia's plain
And Thynia far, and see thee safe at last.
Oh, what more blest than from our minds to cast
The burden of all care, and wearied come
From foreign travail to our own dear home,
And nestle in the longed-for bed again !
'Tis this alone that all our toil beguiles.
O lovely Sirmio, thy master welcome make,
And ye too, Lydian waters of the lake,
With all home's laughter and her rippling smiles.

C. R. HAINES.

We may compare Tennyson's verses beginning :
"Row me out to Desenzano, to your Sirmione row !"

The Latin poem is full of the liquid letter L: the
sound of lapping water, the sound of laughter and
love.

*The lament of Ariadne, deserted by Theseus. (lxiv,
line 132.)*

Thus, faithless, O faithless Theseus, having borne me
away from my father's altars, hast thou left me upon
the lonely shore ? Thus departing, without thought of

Authors of Rome

the gods' will, dost thou take to thy home faith forsworn, and my curse? Could nothing bend the purpose of thy cruel heart? Has no mercy shown itself, to make thy ruthless breast feel pity for me? Not such were the promises thou madest me once with flattering lips, not such were the hopes thou badst me form, but hopes of a happy marriage, of the nuptial song I desired. All this the breezes of heaven rend asunder, and make of none effect. Heneeforth let no woman believe a man's oath, let none hope that a man's speeches can be trusted. For while their mind covets something and longs to gain it, men fear not to take an oath, they spare not to make promises: but soon as the desire of their covetous mind had been satisfied, they fear not their words, they care not for their perjuries. I at least, when thou wast tossing in the whirlpool of death, rescued thee, and resolved to lose my brother rather than fail thee, now treacherous, in my sorest need. For this I shall be given to beasts and birds to tear in sunder: in death I shall receive no burial, no earth shall be sprinkled upon me. What lioness bore thee under a lonely rock? What sea conceived thee, and spat thee from its foaming waves? What Syrtis, what rapacious Seylla, or vast Charybdis bore thee, who for sweet life returnest such a reward?

The perjured lover. (lxx.)

My sweetheart swears that she will wed no other,

Though Jupiter himself her favours crave:

She swears: but what a maid swears to her eager lover

Is writ upon the wind and fleeting wave.

E. A. N.

Arrius and the h-aspirates. (lxxxiv.)

Arrius would speak of "hadvantage" when he meant "advantage": and "ambush" to him was "hambush." He flattered himself he had talked like a book when he said "hambush" with all the force of his lungs. I suppose that is how his mother spoke, and his mother's brother Liber, and his mother's father, and his mother's

mother. When Arrius went to Syria, our ears had a rest. They listened to smooth and tripping sounds : they had no fear of hearing such words in days to come : when, suddenly, a dreadful message arrives, that the Ionian sea, since Arrius went there, is not Ionian now, but “ Hionian.”

Hail and farewell. ci (in prose and in verse).

Borne over many lands and many seas, I come, brother, to these last sad rites, to enrich thee in death with the final tribute, and address all in vain thine unresponsive dust ; for that mischance has reft from me thyself, O hapless brother, untimely stolen from me. Receive meanwhile these poor gifts,¹ which the piety of our fathers of old has taught us to render in mournful offering to the shades : receive them all streaming with a brother's tears : and for evermore, brother, hail and farewell.

O'er many a land and ocean am I come,
To speak in vain to ashes that are dumb,
 To greet thee for the last time, brother mine,
And place my final gifts upon thy tomb.
Since fate has robbed me, brother, of thy sight
With stroke untimely, in ancestral rite
 I bring thee tear-wet garlands, brother mine ;
For evermore, good morrow and good night.

E. A. N.

¹ The gifts are flowers : “ meanwhile ” implies that a richer gift will be made later.

The sound of this poem of Catullus is built up on the consonant “ m ” : as xxxi. is upon “ l.”

MATERIALS for Roman history existed long before a historian arose to make use of them. Lists of magistrates, with brief notices of important events, were compiled by the pontifex maximus. Each of the great families had its own separate register of the honours gained by its members, in the form of genealogical trees, inscriptions placed under the wax masks of ancestors, and funeral orations. As may be supposed, accuracy was often subordinated to family pride.

Besides these written records, there were inscriptions on stone or bronze, containing laws and treaties.

Some, perhaps most, of these records perished in 390 B.C., when Rome was taken and sacked by the Gauls. The impulse to write the history of Rome came in the following century with the Punic wars, which developed the national consciousness. The story of the first Punic war was recorded by the poet Nævius, in verse: that of the second Punic war by Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, in Greek (then the language of the cultured), and by Ennius in his historical epic poem.

The first writer of a Roman history in Latin, and in prose, was Marcus Porcius Cato (234 to 149 B.C.), the famous Censor. Towards the end of his life he wrote a book called *Origines*, because it contained an account of the beginnings of the various Italian states, including Rome. The first book was on the period of the Kings of Rome: the second and third books were on "origins": the fourth and fifth were on the Punic wars, in which Cato had taken part.

Cato was a man of strong personality : a true son of Italy, an admirer of the Italian resistance to Hannibal. He regards Rome as the head of that resistance, but he looks beyond Rome, and even beyond Italy, thus introducing the conception of empire, and of universal history. He was interested in economic facts—geography, agriculture, climate. He was an orator : and he inserted some of his own speeches in his account of contemporary events.

The historians who succeeded Cato are usually grouped together as “annalists,” because they described the events of each year somewhat in the form of a diary. Some of these men—Claudius Quadrigarius, Cælius Antipater, Valerius Antias—possessed merits and an individuality of their own, as can be seen from the fragments of their writings, which were extensively used by Livy for his first ten books. But as a rule the work of the annalists was vitiated by dulness, excessive attention to detail, absence of analysis of motive or character, and by a tendency to exaggeration, due to the prevalent belief that history was a branch of rhetoric.

The *Commentaries* of Cæsar, to which we now come, is the first Roman historical work that has reached us in a complete, or nearly complete, form ; and Cæsar is one of the few Roman historians who are free from rhetoric.

Gaius Julius Cæsar was born in 100 (or as some think 102) B.C., and was murdered in 44 B.C. It seems unnecessary to give a detailed account of this great statesman and soldier. He was of the party of

Authors of Rome

Marius, who was his uncle by marriage ; he served and studied in Asia, became quæstor (67 B.C.), ædile (65), pontifex maximus (63), prætor (62) and consul in 59 B.C. In the years 58 to 50 B.C., he was proconsul of Gaul, which he conquered, thus forming an army for his own purposes. In the year 49, he began the civil war by marching into Italy : defeated Pompey at Pharsalia (48), and overcame the remainder of the senatorial party in Africa and Spain. In March, 44 B.C., he fell before the daggers of conspirators led by Brutus and Cassius.

The energy and ability by which Cæsar made himself master of the Roman world are visible in those writings which have been preserved¹ : his "Note-books," as the modest title calls them (*Commentarii*) which contain the history of the first seven years of the Gallic war, in seven books, and the history of the civil war (down to the Alexandrine campaign) in three books. They are half-way between a mere collection of materials, such as the title suggests, and a carefully elaborated history. But they are not artless and unpretentious, as their form would lead us to suppose. They are meant to display Cæsar and his motives to the best advantage. Both subject and style are controlled by his aims : they are of studied moderation : and perfectly fulfil the function of a political pamphlet, while presenting the appearance of a soldier's rapidly written diary.

The *Gallic War* was published in 51 B.C., at the end of the operations of seven years : the eighth book is

¹ A few of his letters are to be found in the collections of Cicero's letters to and from his friends. Cæsar's speeches, which gained him great fame, have been lost.

by another hand, probably by Aulus Hirtius. The vindication of self was intended to impress the popular mind with a sense of Cæsar's fitness for great emergencies. He describes the events of the war as a Roman to Romans ; his campaigns always begin by some act of injustice on the enemy's part, which makes it natural for Cæsar to appeal to the sword. His expeditions thus seem to be necessary measures of defence, undertaken by Cæsar on behalf of the interests or dignity of Rome. His standard of conduct towards Gaulish enemies in the field is far lower than towards his own countrymen. He was treacherous in his attack on the Usipetes and Tencteri¹ : he took a brutal vengeance on the Veneti, in Brittany.² He put to death Vercingetorix, who had been an honourable foe, and who gave himself up to appease Cæsar's anger towards his nation. Good faith and chivalry were not thought necessary in dealing with an uncivilised enemy.

Having recognised that the *Commentaries* of Cæsar are not to be taken as the whole truth, and that the standard of international morality which they exhibit is deplorably low, we may now turn to the more attractive side, the description of operations in which Cæsar and his troops display their respective qualities. Without praising himself, he succeeds in making us feel the quickness of his intelligence and of his measures. He makes up his mind at once : and sets out to the scene of danger by forced marches. He attacks his enemies before they are ready for him : after defeating them he follows in ruthless and unremitting pursuit. The campaign is not regarded as

¹ Book iv : 55 B.C.

² Book iii : 56 B.C.

Authors of Rome

at an end until the enemy has been decisively routed, and forced to sue for terms.

Another quality upon which stress is laid by Cæsar is the bravery and loyalty of his men. He wishes to appear as their friend, to whom their lives and their creature comforts are important. There is good reason to believe that Cæsar was speaking the simple truth when he described his admiration for his soldiers, and especially for the tenth legion, who are represented as a band of heroes, officers and men alike. This gives the *Gallic War* the peculiar "serenity" which has been observed in it.

Of special interest to us to-day are Cæsar's descriptions of Gaul, of Germany, and of Britain. He stands almost alone among Roman historians in the attention which he bestowed on the manners, customs and economical situation of an enemy. There is a fine impartiality in his observations, which shows that he was not disposed to underrate Gauls and Germans. He is aware of their defects : for example, the Gauls are quick to begin war, but incapable of enduring its hardships : their mood is fickle both in making plans and in changing them. But they are brave, and that quality appeals to Cæsar. He praises the Nervii for their courage and devotion, and the necessity of exterminating them stirs his pity. But he is not sentimental. The surrender of Vercingetorix is dismissed in a few words.

The *Gallic War* opens with a description of Gaul as "divided into three parts," inhabited by Aquitani (south of the Garonne) : Galli or Celtæ (between that river and the Seine) : Belgæ, north of the Seine. The Helvetii, occupying the area of modern Switzer-

land, try to invade the Roman " *Provincia* " (modern Provence) : but are defeated by Cæsar, and forced to return to their own country. Ariovistus, a German prince, on attempting to occupy the territory of a Gallic tribe, is attacked, and forced to cross the Rhine with heavy loss.¹ The Belgæ take up arms against Rome : except the Remi (who have given their name to Rheims). Cæsar overcomes the Belgæ. After a severe engagement, he practically exterminates the Nervii.² Operations are begun against the Veneti (Vendée and Brittany). Cæsar's able lieutenant Publius Crassus, son of the triumvir, had subdued this nation, but it had revolted. Only after building a fleet, and making an attack by sea and land, could Cæsar master the rising. The Veneti were sold into slavery.³ This concludes the campaign of the year 56 B.C., the third of the war.

In the next year (55), Cæsar repelled an invasion of Germanic hordes on the lower Rhine ; and this led to his first crossing of the Rhine, not far from Coblenz, an act which was only intended as a demonstration. This was followed by the first Roman expedition against Britain, whose Celtic inhabitants were in close connection with their kinsmen on the mainland. Cæsar crossed the Channel with such scanty forces that he could barely effect a landing, and was fortunate in regaining the coast of Gaul before the autumnal storms.⁴ A second expedition to Britain in the following year (54) was more successful : and carried him beyond the Thames. The British king Cassivellaunus submitted to him.

¹ Book i : 58 B.C.

³ Book iii : 56 B.C.

² Book ii : 57 B.C.

⁴ Book iv : 55 B.C.

Authors of Rome

The description of Britain is given in connection with the second invasion (v. 12–14). The interior of the country is inhabited, Cæsar tells us, by aboriginal tribes, the sea coast by immigrants from Belgium. The population is very large. Cattle are numerous. Gold coins, or iron bars of a fixed weight, are used. Iron is found in Britain, and also tin. 'Trees' grow there of the same kinds as in Gaul, except the beech and the fir. Hares, fowls and geese they think it unlawful to eat, but they keep them for amusement. The climate is more equable than in Gaul. The island is triangular. The length of the sides, in Roman miles, is 500 (south), 700 (west) and 800 (east): comparison with our measurements proves that Cæsar's figures are too high. Ireland and the Isle of Man are off the west coast. The most civilised of all the inhabitants of Britain are the natives of Kent, whose culture does not differ much from that of the Gauls. The people of the interior do not as a rule cultivate grain, but live on milk and flesh meat, and clothe themselves with skins.

All the Britons stain themselves with woad, which produces a bluish tint, and gives them a wild look in battle. They wear their hair long, and shave the whole of the body, except the head and upper lip.

In war they use chariots with great skill. They also have cavalry. They occupy strong positions in the woods, defended by felled trees.

On both occasions the elements fought for Britain, and several of Cæsar's ships were wrecked.

Shortly after Cæsar's return to Gaul, his army, which had been quartered among the warlike northern tribes, was attacked on all sides : and in the winter

of 54–53 a division of it was cut to pieces by the Eburones, on the Meuse. Cæsar took a terrible vengeance for this rising. In the course of these operations, Quintus Cicero, younger brother of the orator, displayed the qualities of a brave and resourceful soldier. His camp was attacked by the Nervii, and relieved by Cæsar. The Rhine was crossed for the second time, and this gives Cæsar an opportunity for a comparison between the Gauls and the Germans, which is of perennial interest, in view of the differences of temperament which subsist to the present day between these ancient enemies.¹ Once again revolt broke out, led by the heroic Vercingetorix, who had as his object the removal of the foreign yoke, and the establishment of a national kingdom. Cæsar, who had spent the winter of 53–52 in Northern Italy, quickly reached his headquarters; and, crossing the Loire without opposition, he advanced against Avaricum (Bourges) where lay the chief forces of Vercingetorix. After a troublesome siege, the town fell into Roman hands: but the insurgent army escaped, and concentrated in Alesia, which was completely surrounded by Cæsar. After heavy fighting, in the course of which the unfortunate inhabitants were driven out into the space between the besiegers and the besieged, and died of hunger, the town surrendered. Vercingetorix (as previously stated) handed himself over to the Romans: and the revolt collapsed. The next two years were given to consolidating the conquest.²

The *Civil War* was written with a similar purpose: to justify Cæsar's motives and his actions. Even

¹ Books v, vi: the comparison is in vi, 10–28. ² Book vii.

Authors of Rome

greater care was necessary in this case, for the moral issue was much more serious in a civil war than in one waged against barbarians. But the three books of this work are loosely constructed, and bear traces of inaccuracy in statement of fact. Moreover, the text is in a very bad condition. Gaps frequently occur: the beginning and the end are lost. The history, as we have it, opens with the events of 1st January, 49 B.C., when a meeting of the senate was held to discuss an offer made by Cæsar to disband his troops if Pompey would do the same. The offer was rejected: and a motion was carried, calling upon Cæsar to disband his army before a fixed date; failing this he would be treated as an enemy of his country. When the result was declared, the tribunes Antonius and Cassius interposed their veto. On the fifth and sixth of January the debate was renewed: the extremists bore down all opposition, and on the following day they passed a decree which declared the country in danger, and called upon the consuls to see that the State suffered no injury. That evening the tribunes fled to Cæsar, who was waiting at Ravenna for news of the struggle. He appealed to his soldiers, as their general who had led them from victory to victory, to defend him from his enemies. The soldiers promised to protect him. The order to march to Ariminum was given. In the course of it Cæsar passed the little stream of the Rubicon, which was the limit of his authority. Plutarch and other writers dwell upon this dramatic incident: Cæsar does not mention it.

The remainder of the first book pursues the fortunes of the war to the capitulation of Pompey's generals,

Afranius and Petreius, in Spain, August 49. The second book contains the account of the naval operations off Massilia (Marseilles), giving a full description of the siege, which culminated in the surrender of the town: also it narrates operations in Spain and in Africa. The third book is concerned with the campaign in Epirus and Greece against Pompey, terminating with the battle of Pharsalia (August, 48). Cæsar pursues Pompey, hears of his death, and intervenes in the feuds between Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and his sister Cleopatra. This was the beginning of the Alexandrine war, in which Cæsar was for a time in great peril. The narrative of this war is by another hand.

The style of Cæsar has been described for us by Cicero, as worthy of all praise, unadorned, straightforward, elegant. "While he desired to give others the material out of which to create a history, he may perhaps have done a kindness to conceited writers who wish to trick them out with artificial graces, but he has deterred all men of sound taste from touching them: for in history a pure and brilliant conciseness of style is the highest attainable beauty." The clearness and precision of Cæsar's narrative are consummate. Rapidly and vividly, he describes events as they occur, without personal feeling, except when he is stirred by some act of devotion to military duty. He does not stop to praise himself or to disparage his enemies.¹ He does not moralise as Sallust does. His simplicity arises from his keen intelligence, his good taste, his sense of dignity. His style, like his mind, is in perfect training; there

¹ The tone of the *Civil War*, in this respect, is more petulant.

Authors of Rome

is no superfluous word, because there is no thought which does not fit into the general scheme. The Latin is pure, unaffected, vigorous: the normal language of Cæsar's time.

The importance of Cæsar as a historian lies partly in this admirable style—and in the revelation of his character which it contains: partly in the subject matter of his work. The *Gallic War* is the record of a very great event, the Roman conquest of Gaul, which marks the beginning of the history of France. The Gauls, who had been sufficiently energetic to conquer North Italy, and terrorise Rome, from 450 to 250 B.C., and had captured Rome in 390 B.C., were now subdued. Their sixty-four separate states were fused together, and adopted the Roman system of government and administration, Latin speech, and Roman manners. They were henceforth protected against Teutonic invasion by military posts on the Rhine, and came under the operation of Roman law. Turning to peaceful pursuits, such as agriculture and commerce, they built amphitheatres, public baths, aqueducts and military roads, of which traces still remain. Lyons (Lugdunum) became a transalpine Rome. Already in the first century of our era, schools of eloquence in Gaul were famous; Roman students went there to attend them. The services of Gaul to the empire in arms and in letters were considerable: and she became the home of an enlightened Christian Church. These results were made possible by Cæsar's great efforts. Upon the old Celtic stock were engrafted the civilisation and culture of Rome, and the foundations were laid of that nation which has never ceased to be prominent in the modern

world, for its skill in art, science, letters, eloquence, and war.

The invasion of Britain by Cæsar, though only partially successful, is the beginning of recorded history in our country, and our first contact with the great civilising power of Rome, to which we owe our religion, our law, and our system of government.

TRANSLATIONS :

Gallic War : T. E. Rice Holmes (Macmillan), 1908 ;
H. J. Edwards (Loeb Library), 1917.

Civil War : Peskett (Loeb Library), 1914.

Other works :

Rice Holmes : *Conquest of Gaul* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 1917.

Rice Holmes : *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 1907.

Rice Holmes : *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 3 vols., 1923.

Warde Fowler : *Julius Cæsar* (in " Heroes of the Nation " series), 1892.

Mommsen : *History of Rome* (vol. 4 of English Translation).

Oman : *Seven Roman Statesmen* (Arnold), 1917.

Authors of Rome

Sudden attack on Cæsar's army by the Nervii.
(*Gallie War*, ii. 19 : 57 B.C.)

When the leaders of our baggage-train were observed by the troops who lay in ambush in the woods, which was the moment agreed among them for beginning the battle, suddenly, in the same order in which they had drawn up their line, rank by rank, each encouraging the other, they rushed forward, and attacked our cavalry. These they had no difficulty in scattering in disorder ; they then ran down to the river edge, with such amazing swiftness that almost at the same moment the enemy seemed to be in the woods, in the river, and at grips with our men. With equal swiftness they hurried up the hill to our camp, and the men who were busy fortifying it. Cæsar had to do everything at once : exhibit the red flag, the signal for arming : sound the trumpet : recall the men from the earthwork : send for those who had gone too far in search of timber : form his line : encourage his troops : give the signal to fight. Much of this could not be done, as time was too short, and the enemy was close. His difficulties were relieved by two things : first, by the knowledge and experience of the soldiers, for, trained in earlier battles, they could as easily advise themselves what to do as learn it from others. Secondly, he had forbidden his commanders of legions to leave the works and their own men before the camp had been fortified. As the enemy were so near and came on so swiftly, they did not wait for orders from Cæsar, but of themselves did what they thought advisable.

Cæsar lands on the coast of Britain. (*Gallie War*, iv. 25 : 55 B.C.)

When Cæsar observed this, he ordered the ships of war, whose shape was unfamiliar to the natives, and their movements easily controlled, to move a little from the transports, and at full speed to post themselves on the enemy's exposed flank : and so with the aid of slings, arrows and engines of war to drove the enemy off. This

was of great service to our men. The natives, alarmed by the build of the ships, the movement of the oars, and the strange siege-engines, stood still, and then drew back a few paces. Our soldiers were hesitating, especially because of the depth of the water : but the standard bearer of the tenth legion, praying to the gods that his act might be attended with good luck to the legion, shouted, " Leap down, men, unless you want to abandon the eagle to the enemy. I, at least, shall have done my duty to my general, and my country." Uttering these words in a loud voice, he flung himself over the side, and advanced with the eagle against the enemy. Then, with mutual encouragement not to allow such a disgrace, the men jumped all together from the ship. Their comrades in the nearest ships, on seeing this, followed them, and drew near to the enemy.

The rivalry of Pullo and Vorenius. (Gallic War, v. 44 : 53 B.C.)

In this legion were two brave centurions, Titus Pullo and Lucius Vorenius. They were coming close to the highest grade. They had an unending dispute as to which was the better, and every year they disputed precedence with the greatest bitterness. When the fight at the trenches was at its fiercest, Pullo said " Vorenius, why hesitate ? What opportunity do you await to prove your courage ? This day shall decide our differences." Saying this, he walked outside the entrenchment, and broke into the enemy's ranks where they were thickest. Vorenius, for his part, did not stay within the rampart ; fearing what would be thought of him, he followed. Pullo, when a short distance away from the enemy, threw his javelin, piercing one of them who was running out of the throng. The wounded man fainted with the shock of the blow : the enemy protected him with their shields, all hurling their javelins at Pullo, and cutting off his retreat. Pullo's shield was pierced, a dart stuck in his belt, the blow turned his scabbard round, and delayed his right hand as he strove to draw his sword : in this embarrassment, the

Authors of Rome

enemy pressed round him. His rival, Vorenius, came to his help in the moment of danger. At once they all turned from Pullo against Vorenius. Vorenius met them, nothing daunted : with his good sword he killed one man, and drove the others a little back, but pressing on too eagerly, he was borne down a slope, and fell. Vorenius was surrounded in his turn, but Pullo came to his relief, and the two men, after killing several of the enemy, got back safe, and full of glory, to the trenches.

Religious and civil powers of the Druids in Gaul.
(*Gallic War*, vi. 13 : abbreviated.)

Throughout Gaul there are only two classes of men held of any account or distinction, for the masses are regarded almost as slaves, never venture to act of themselves, and are never called to any council. One of the two classes is the Druids, the other the Knights. The Druids officiate at the worship of the gods, control sacrifices, private as well as public, and give judgment on questions of religion. Young men flock to them to be trained, the people hold them in high regard. They decide nearly all disputes involving the tribe or the individual. If a crime has been committed, if a murder has taken place, if there is a dispute about an inheritance or a boundary, they settle the matter, and fix the reward or the fine. Any tribe or individual which fails to abide by their decision, is excluded from the sacrifice, which is the severest penalty they can inflict. The Druids are all under one head, who commands the highest respect from the others. On his death, if any of the rest is of exceptional standing, he fills his place ; if there are several rivals, the priority is decided by the votes of the Druids, sometimes by an appeal to arms. On a fixed date, the Druids hold an annual meeting at a holy place in the territory of the Carnutes : this is reputed to be the central point of Gaul. All who have a dispute to settle assemble here from all parts, and obey the Druids' decisions and decrees. Their teaching is believed to have been formed in Britain, and thence to have been brought

to Gaul. At the present day, those who wish to make a careful study of it go to Britain to learn.

Manners of the Germans. (Gallic War, vi. 21.)

The customs of the Germans differ widely from those of the Gauls. The Germans have no Druids to preside over public worship, they pay no heed to sacrifice. The only deities whom they regard are those whom they can see, and whose power gives them obvious benefit : namely, Sun, Moon, and Fire. The rest they have never so much as heard of. Their lives are spent entirely in hunting and in war : from infancy they devote themselves to toil and hardship.

(Chapter 23.) The greatest distinction to any German tribe is to have as wide a zone as possible of waste and desert land. They regard it as proof of their valour that the neighbouring tribes should be driven out and forced to retreat, and that no one should dare to settle near them : they also consider that they will have more security if freed from the fear of sudden attacks. Marauding expeditions outside the bounds of a tribe bring them no disgrace : they say themselves that these are undertaken to train the young men, and to prevent laziness. When any of the chief men announces in the council that he will lead such an expedition, and calls for volunteers, those who approve the venture, and the leader, stand up and promise their help, and receive the thanks of the whole gathering. Those who do not follow their leader are regarded as deserters and traitors, and no further trust of any kind is placed in them.

*Scarcity in Cæsar's, abundance in Pompey's, army.
(Civil War, iii. 47 : 48 B.C.)*

The character of the campaign was remarkable, in fact unprecedented, not only in the number of strong positions, their distance from each other, the great earthworks, and the whole nature of the siege, but also for other reasons. Those who set out to conduct a siege

Authors of Rome

are usually attacking an enemy weakened by some blow ; they have either defeated the enemy in battle or have inflicted some other demoralizing injury, and then keep them in their lines by their own superior number of infantry or cavalry. The usual object of a siege is to prevent the enemy from replenishing his stores. On this occasion it was different. Cæsar had a smaller army, and was containing a large unbeaten force, plentifully supplied with all necessaries. Every day ships collected in large numbers, bringing stores to Pompey : whatever wind prevailed, some of them must be brought by it safely to harbour. Cæsar, on the other hand, had consumed all the supplies of corn far and near, and was in dire straits. Nevertheless, his men bore their privations with exemplary patience. They remembered that in the previous year they had had to endure the same privations in Spain, yet by their efforts and their patience they had brought a great war to an end : nor could they forget that they had known similar scarcity at Alesia, and still more at Avaricum, yet had come away victorious over proud nations. Barley was given them, and vetches : they raised no objection. Meat¹ was plentiful in Epirus, and was highly appreciated. There was also a kind of root discovered by those who had been with Valerius : its name is *chara* : when mixed with milk it greatly lessened the feeling of hunger. They made it up to resemble bread : there was no scarcity of it, so they baked it into loaves ; and when Pompey's men, on meeting them in parley, mocked their hunger, they threw many of the loaves at them to diminish their hope of success. By this time the corn was beginning to ripen, and the mere hope of coming plenty was a comfort to those starving men ; on sentry duty and at parley, our men were often heard to say that they would live on bark from the trees before they would let Pompey out of their clutches.

¹ In Latin, *pecus*. This was not an ordinary article of diet with the Romans.

GAIUS SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS (Sallust), the first artistic historian of Rome, as distinct from the annalists (whose method he discarded) and the writers of personal memoirs, was born in 86 B.C., at Amiternum in Sabine territory. He came to Rome eager to advance his fortunes, and in the year 52 became tribune of the *plebs*. He was an adherent of Julius Cæsar, by whom he was made prætor in 47 B.C., and was thus restored to the senate, from which he had previously been degraded on the score of his licentious life. In the year 46, when the war in Africa had come to an end, Cæsar left him to rule as proconsul the newly annexed kingdom of Numidia. Sallust enriched himself at the expense of the Numidians, and returned home to enjoy his large fortune. He built himself a palace on the Quirinal hill, surrounded by splendid gardens, which long afterwards continued to bear his name. After Cæsar's death he retired from the world of politics, and returned to literary interests. He died in the year 34, three years before the battle of Actium ended the period of civil war.

Sallust had helped to make history before he wrote it. He had taken an active part in the struggle which preceded the civil war, and had made a name for himself during the war, as soldier and administrator. He was therefore qualified to describe the intrigues of public life, and the government of the Roman provinces. He produced two treatises which have come down to us entire, the *Catiline* and the *Jugurtha*: also a history of the period which followed Sulla's death (in 78 B.C.), a work of which only some fragments remain.

Authors of Rome

The *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* have each a political purpose : the first to bring into credit the democratic party and free Cæsar's name from the imputation of having assisted Catiline : the *Jugurtha* to expose the weakness of the oligarchic government and exalt Gaius Marius, Cæsar's uncle.

The *Catiline* is Sallust's earliest work : he announces in it his intention of subjecting certain episodes of Roman history to a thorough treatment, omitting those parts which had been dealt with by former writers. He was original in his choice of a single episode for detailed examination. The limitation in the range of his subject gave him opportunity for careful elaboration of style : he is more interested in the form than in the substance of history. The subject of this work is the conspiracy of the year 66, which was abandoned ; and that of the years 64–63, which became a serious menace to Rome, until it was exposed by Cicero, consul in 63.

Sallust's *Catiline*¹ begins with general reflections on the superiority of man to the brute creation in respect of intelligence and virtue. It is the duty of man to devote himself to some high purpose. This purpose varies with different men. Sallust has chosen the writing of history as the occupation of his leisure : and he descants on the dignity and difficulty of his task. Passing to Catiline himself, he tells us that this conspiracy was something unique in the annals

¹ Ben Jonson's play, *Catiline*, is based partly upon Sallust, partly on Cicero's speeches. It is vigorous, but learned, and stiff. It is written in the manner of Seneca. There is a ghost (of Sulla) and a chorus detached from the action, and given to moral reflections. The character of Cicero is more important in the play than it is in Sallust ; and the part taken by women is more prominent.

of crime. He sketches Catiline's character : his vast ambition, dissolute life, utter lack of principle. There follows a digression, in which Sallust explains the degeneracy of Rome from the good old times when every man was for the state, none for himself : he attributes the falling away to the growth of luxury after the destruction of Rome's chief rival, Carthage. His moralising on the luxury and vice of the age comes strangely from the man who made himself rich in a short time by unrighteous means, and had been degraded for immorality.

Catiline's influence over young men of good family, who had got into debt, enabled him to secure their support, and to make them the instruments of his designs. A plot was formed at the end of the year 66, which had for its object the murder of the consuls-elect. It came to a head early in 65, but was a failure owing to hasty action on Catiline's part. In the next year he assembled his supporters, and addressed them in tones of remonstrance. "The nation," he said, "is in the hands of a small group of men who have all the power and all the wealth. You have nothing to lose. Why do you not arouse yourselves ? Yonder lies the freedom that you desire : riches and fame are the prize which fortune offers to the winning side." The consular elections for the year 63 (held in the previous year) resulted in the choice of Cicero and Antonius. Catiline had been a candidate ; his disappointment only made him more eager to be elected for the next year (62). One of his agents at this time was Sempronia, who had committed crimes for which the boldness of a man is usually needed. She was cultured and accomplished :

Authors of Rome

“ could play the harp, and dance more gracefully than an honest woman need.” The chief events of the year 63 unrolled themselves rapidly in the last few months of that year. In October the senate gave the consuls full powers : Manlius, Catiline’s chief of staff, broke out into revolt, at Fæsulæ in Etruria. Early in November, there was a night meeting at Rome at which plans were made for Cicero’s assassination. The plot failed. Then came the meeting of the senate (November 8), in which Cicero delivered the first speech against Catiline. The result was that Catiline left Rome that night. In December, the envoys of the Allobroges were arrested with letters which proved the treasonable schemes of the prætor Lentulus and his companions. The prisoners were examined before the senate. On December 5th was held the meeting of the senate in which the prisoners were sentenced to death. They were executed before night.

Sallust gives us a vivid description of the debate in the senate in regard to the fate of the prisoners : he records the speeches made by Cæsar and by Cato on that occasion, Cæsar for mercy, Cato for the death penalty, and he adds the famous character sketches of these two statesmen. Cæsar was counted great for his munificence and acts of kindness : Cato for the integrity of his life. Cæsar had risen to fame by clemency and mercy : Cato had gained renown for austerity. The positive and active qualities of Cæsar, his industry, generosity, lofty ambition, are contrasted with the real if less conspicuous merits of Cato ; virtue, modesty, self-control. The veneration of Sallust for his great leader is proved by the prominence

given to Cæsar: Cato rather than Cicero is chosen as the senatorial champion, partly because Cato's unpractical views and narrow philosophy made an effective contrast with the broad and humane policy of Cæsar, partly because of Sallust's enmity to Cicero.

The book ends with an account of the defeat and death of Catiline, fighting in the army of Manlius, in the early part of 62 B.C.

There is no reference in the *Catiline* to any written authority for its statements. Sallust seems to have relied on his own knowledge, and on hearsay. He was twenty-three at the time of the conspiracy.

The style of the *Catiline* already shows the main characteristics of all Sallust's writing. They may be grouped under the heads archaism, brevity and variety. The "archaic" words he uses are possibly taken from colloquial Latin: the ancients accused him of taking them from the elder Cato. Sometimes his prose assumes a poetical colour; he has also introduced a few constructions directly copied from the Greek.

His brevity is seen in his sentences, which are short and elliptical, and seldom have a connecting particle. He is "breathless," always in a hurry, as if he were hastening to more important matters. Both the *Catiline* and the *Jugurtha* end abruptly. His chief model among Greek writers was the historian Thucydides, who was a master of brevity.

Variety is obtained by using alternative constructions side by side in the same sentence, such as the indicative and the "historic" infinitive, both used in descriptions. These features of Sallust's

Authors of Rome

style were imitated and carried further in the next century by Tacitus.

The *Jugurtha* was written to describe the war waged by Rome against Jugurtha, King of Numidia. It began in 111, and ended in 105 B.C. with the capture of Jugurtha. Sallust gives two reasons for his choice of subject: one that this war was great and memorable, with varying fortunes on both sides: the other, that it was the first occasion on which a stand was made against the haughty self-assertion of the nobles. Sallust's interest in the subject was no doubt aroused by his being engaged on the coast of Numidia during the African campaign of Cæsar, and by the intimate knowledge of that country which he gained as pro-consul. It attracted him as a politician because the war in its early stages led to a trial of strength at Rome between the two rival factions. It was pushed on to the end to gain a party triumph, and towards the conclusion it brought on the scene the two great generals Marius and Sulla, who were then engaged in fighting a common foe, but soon turned their arms against each other in civil war.

The plan of the *Jugurtha* is similar to that of the *Catiline*. There is an introduction, of a moralising tendency: there are digressions and speeches interposed in the body of the narrative. Phrases from the *Catiline* are often repeated in the *Jugurtha*, but the separate parts of the *Jugurtha* are in better proportion to each other.

The introduction to the *Jugurtha* sets out the superiority of the mind over the body: by their fruits they are known: one of the fruits of the mind is the impulse to virtue which comes from the study

of history. Sallust then proceeds with his subject, and shows how the kingdom of Masinissa, who ruled Numidia during the second Punic war, was divided after his death among his three sons. Two of these died, and the survivor, Micipsa, reigned alone. He left two sons to share the kingdom with Jugurtha, their cousin. Jealousy led to quarrels; Jugurtha put one of his cousins to death, and forced the other to appeal to Rome for help. Rome insisted on dividing the kingdom, as it was not to her interest to have a powerful king upon her frontiers. But the decision was upset by the ambitious Jugurtha, who put his remaining rival to death. War was declared against him by Rome, but the corruptness of her politicians and the incompetence of her generals led to an ignominious peace. A court of enquiry was demanded by the tribunes of the *plebs*, and Jugurtha himself came to Rome to watch his interests. While there, he procured the murder of a kinsman who was a rival claimant to the throne. He was ordered to leave Rome at once, and to prepare for war. Some years of irregular warfare ensued, in which Rome defeated the Numidians in battle, and captured their fortresses, but could not lay hands upon their wily foe. Metellus was replaced by Marius (consul for 107 B.C.), assisted by Sulla. After one campaign they used treachery, and found in Bocchus, King of Mauretania, a ready helper. Bocchus got Jugurtha into his power, and surrendered him to Sulla. He was brought to Rome: and after the triumph of Marius (as Plutarch tells us) he was put to death in the prison at the Capitol called the "Tullianum."

The narrative is diversified with speeches: the

Authors of Rome

dying Micipsa to his sons and nephew ; Adherbal before the senate, complaining of the encroachments and violence of Jugurtha : the tribune Memmius upon the incompetent management of the first stage of the war : Marius to the people of Rome before he went to take up his command : a short speech of Bocchus, and one of Sulla. Two of the speeches, those of Memmius and Marius, are attacks on the incapable and venal aristocracy who were pushed into office by their friends, and stood in the way of better men who had no such influential support.

There are also digressions : one geographical, on the northern part of Libya and its inhabitants ; the other tracing the origin of the system of factions, democratic and oligarchic, to the peace and prosperity which succeeded the Punic wars. Rome ceased to be virtuous when she no longer had a foreign enemy to fear.

The style of the *Jugurtha* is more mature than that of the *Catiline*. It has the same qualities of brevity, variety, archaism, but they are under better control. The *Jugurtha* as a whole is fuller in detail : its rhetoric is kept in check : the purpose with which it was written is not so apparent. It is more of a historical work, less of an essay, than the *Catiline*. It suggests to us one of our own campaigns in tropical lands : marches across the desert under a fierce sun, palace intrigues, defeats and victories.

Sallust's third work, his *Histories*, opened with the year 78, after Sulla's death, and the extant fragments come as far as 67 B.C. Only a few portions of it survive : four speeches and two letters, which is all that is left of a collection of the speeches and letters

of Sallust, made for rhetorical purposes. The loss of the remainder of the work is to be regretted, for it marked an advance on his previous writings both in substance and in form. It embraced the period of the war against Sertorius in Spain, the campaigns of Lucullus against Mithridates, King of Pontus, and the victories of Pompey in the East. The trilogy—*Jugurtha*, *Histories*, *Catiline*—describes the rise of democracy (*Jugurtha*), its triumph after a temporary reaction (*Histories*), its perversion in the hands of criminals (*Catiline*).

Sallust displays the same tendency that we find among other contemporary writers: to leave Roman models, and to imitate the Greeks. He exhibits a reaction against the influence of Cicero. He forsakes the Ciceronian rhythm. His sentences, short, abrupt, disconnected, aim at producing the effect of artlessness or carelessness. Though his general tendency is towards variety of construction, he repeats certain favourite turns of phrase continually, as a sort of protest against Cicero's different ways of saying the same thing. This occasional roughness and hardness only throw into higher relief the elaboration of the composition as a whole. Every effect is premeditated.

Sallust follows his model Thucydides closely, not only in phrases and constructions, but in the plan of his work. Thucydides has an introduction (in his first book), narrative, speeches, digressions; so has Sallust. But Sallust's introductions and his digressions have no very obvious connection with the rest of the history: and his speeches, though they contain generalisations, in the Thucydidean manner,

Authors of Rome

on the politics of the day, or the tendencies of the age, do not show the same philosophic insight. But it is to his credit that he chose the greatest, and most difficult, of the Greek historians as his model: and gave him a wider currency in the Roman world.

In sketches of character Sallust is original and successful. The Italian genius was prone to personalities. Sallust has an eye for bold and broad effects. His antithetical style is suited to the contrasts of virtue and vice, strength and weakness, which usually occur in such sketches. In the *Catiline*, we find portraits of Catiline himself, Cæsar, Cato, Sempronia: in the *Jugurtha*, we have the unscrupulous Jugurtha, the timid Adherbal, Roman politicians or soldiers, such as Bestia, Memmius, Metellus, Marius, Sulla. These later characters are more artistic because they reveal themselves more in action. In both works, and in the *Histories*, the speeches should be regarded as studies in character.

Sallust was greatly admired by the Romans of the first century of our era. Martial spoke of him as "first in Roman history." Quintilian considered him greater than Livy, and equal to Thucydides. Tacitus, one of the greatest of all historians, called him "the most distinguished" of his predecessors: and imitated his style very closely. During the second century, the archaic diction of Sallust gained him admirers in an age which witnessed a reaction from excessive elaboration to a "simpler" style. But the simplicity, as has been shown, is more apparent than real.

It cannot be said that Sallust has directly influenced the modern world. But indirectly he has done so

through Tacitus, who saw that the brevity and incisiveness of his style were well fitted for the psychological analysis of motives and character. The *Annals* of Tacitus would not have been what they are if Sallust had not written : their effect, as we shall see, was largely due to the Sallustian manner, combining pessimism and epigram.

TRANSLATION :

Loeb Library, 1920 : A. W. Pollard (Macmillan),
1882.

Authors of Rome

Character of Sempronia. (Catiline : ch. 25.)

Among these women was Sempronia, who had often committed crimes that need the daring of a man. In rank and beauty, in her husband and children, she was fairly fortunate : she was versed in both Greek and Latin literature, could play the harp, dance more gracefully than any honest woman need, and do many other things which minister to a life of pleasure. But she prized them all more than she valued her reputation or good name. It would be hard to say whether she was more unthrifty of purse or of pride. She had often broken her pledged word, had repudiated a debt, had been privy to murder ; luxury and poverty had combined to send her down hill. But her ability was not contemptible : she could write verses, tell a good story, using language now refined, now tender, now risky : a woman, in fact, of abundant wit and abundant charm.¹

Speech of Cæsar to the Senate on the punishment of the conspirators. (Catiline : ch. 51. Probably a reproduction of the general sense, rather than of the actual words, of Cæsar.)

“ You must likewise be on your guard, Conscript Fathers, not to let the guilt of Lentulus and the rest weigh with you more than your own dignity, and not to think more of your angry feelings than of your reputation. For if a punishment can be devised befitting their conduct, then I am in favour of this irregular proposal : but if their guilt is so great that it transcends human imagination, I advise you to put in force the punishments that are sanctioned by law. Most of those who have expressed their views before me have lamented their country’s misfortune, elaborately and impressively. They have described the cruelties of war which are inflicted upon the vanquished : the ravishing of youths and

¹ Imitated by Tacitus in his sketch of Nero’s mistress, Poppæa Sabina. (*Annals* : xiii. 45.)

maidens, tearing of children from the arms of their parents, sacking of temples and houses, murder and arson : a scene crowded with weapons, dead bodies, blood and misery. But, in the name of heaven, what was the object of such words ? Was it to make you incensed against the conspirators, as if words would inflame the man who has not been already stirred by so fearful a crime ? That is not the case. No man on earth treats his own wrongs too lightly. Indeed, many have been too deeply moved by them.

But, my lords, that which is possible for one man is not possible for another. A wrong committed in a fit of passion by the ignoble and the obscure remains almost unknown : their reputation is as inconspicuous as their rank in life. But the actions of those who live in a position of eminence, and who exercise great authority, are known to the whole world. So, the higher a man's rank, the less liberty he enjoys. He must not have favourites ; he must not hate ; above all, he must not lose his temper. That which in others is named ill-temper, in the holders of power is called wanton brutality.

My own opinion is that no form of physical torture is bad enough for the conspirators' guilt. But most men only remember what happened last : in the case of such criminals as these, men forget their wickedness, but talk at large of their punishment if it is in any way too severe."

The last words of Micipsa to his grandson Jugurtha.
(*Jugurtha* : ch. 10.)

"When you were a mere boy, Jugurtha, and had lost your father, though you had no resources, no prospects, I took you to my kingdom, thinking that by my kindness I should become as dear to you as to my own children, if I should ever have sons of my own. And in this I have not been disappointed. For, to say nothing of your other great and distinguished feats, not long since, when you came back from Numantia, you covered my kingdom and myself with glory, and by your bravery you made

Authors of Rome

the Romans, already friends, into the closest of friends. In Spain the name of our family has had a fresh lease of life. In a word, you have succeeded in a task—the most difficult for a man—of overpowering jealousy by glory. Now, since Nature brings my life to an end, by this right hand, by the honour of a king, I advise, indeed implore you, to hold dear to you those who are related by birth, but by kindness are brothers indeed, and that you prefer not to attach to yourself strangers rather than to retain those who are your kinsmen by blood. The bulwarks of a kingdom are not armies or treasures, but friends: these you cannot constrain by force of arms nor buy with gold. Only duty and loyalty can win them. Who is a closer friend than brother to brother? In what stranger will you discover loyalty, if you are an enemy to your own kin? I hand over to you all a kingdom strong if you are good, but weak if you are evil. For concord makes small things increase, discord makes very great things come to naught. But it becomes you, Jugurtha, more than these, as you are older and wiser than they, to look to it that nothing turn out contrary. For in any dispute the greater, even if he receives a wrong, seems to inflict one, because he is the stronger. As for you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, pay honour and respect to one so worthy: imitate his virtues, and strive with all your might, not to make me seem to have adopted better sons than those I have begotten.”

Marius on his election as Consul addresses the people upon the obstructive policy of the Nobles.
(*Jugurtha*: ch. 85.)

“Mark now how unreasonable they are. That which they claim for themselves as the result of the valour of others, they refuse to grant to me as the result of my own valour: because, to be sure, I have no waxen images (of ancestors),¹ because my rank is recent: it is better at any rate to have got it myself than to have

¹ Prominent families kept wax masks of ancestors in the chief room of the house.

inherited it, and disgraced it. I am aware that if they choose to reply to me they will have words eloquent and elaborate to say, and in plenty. But considering the great favour you have shown me, as they lose no opportunity of rending both you and me with their reproaches, I have resolved not to remain silent, lest they should attribute my self-control to a guilty conscience. For on my oath and conscience no words can injure me. The truth must speak in my favour, falsehood is refuted by my life and character. But inasmuch as they find fault with your policy in placing on me this high honour and great responsibility, reflect again and again whether you would like to change your minds. I cannot produce, in claiming your confidence, waxen images, or triumphs, or consulships held by my forefathers; but if circumstances make it necessary, I can produce spears, a flag, decorations, other soldier-like presents, and furthermore the scars of wounds upon the front of my body. These are *my* waxen images, this is *my* rank, not left as a legacy, in the way they have got theirs, but won by my many toils and hazards. My words are not elaborated, I pay small heed to that: virtue makes herself felt. But these men require to be trained so that words may obscure the corruption of their deeds. I have never learnt Greek. I could see no use in learning it, for it never helped its professors to lead a virtuous life. But I have learnt lessons far more profitable to my country: to strike down the foe, to act as sentry, to fear nothing except disgrace, to bear winter and summer equally, to make my bed on the ground, and at one and the same time to endure poverty and hard work."

VIRGIL

PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO (Virgil) was born in 70 B.C., near Mantua,¹ in Cisalpine Gaul (now Lombardy). His father was a yeoman farmer, who cultivated his own farm : and Virgil was brought up amid the sights and sounds of country life. He was educated first at Mediolanum (Milan), then at Neapolis (Naples); and studied Greek literature, philosophy, and natural science.

Not long after his return to his father's farm, his quiet existence was rudely interrupted by soldiers from the army of Octavius (afterwards the Emperor Augustus). They had been victorious at Philippi (42 B.C.) over Brutus and Cassius, and had been promised the lands of several cities in Italy, including Mantua. However Virgil, who had been evicted, was reinstated on the recommendation of Asinius Pollio, governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who secured for him an introduction to Octavian. Henceforth he lived mainly in the south of Italy, on an estate in Campania. He joined the circle of Mæcenas, statesman and patron of letters.

Virgil had written the *Eclogues* before 37 B.C., the *Georgics* by 30 B.C. He then turned his thoughts to the writing of a national epic, and worked steadily at this, composing very slowly. He visited Greece in 19 B.C., and intended to spend three years on revising the *Æneid* and to devote the rest of his life to philosophy. His health, however, which was never robust, gave way, and he died at Brundisium in the same year (19 B.C.). He was buried at Naples.

¹ Whence the epithet "Mantovano," applied to him by Tennyson (after Dante). In this essay, acknowledgment is due to various predecessors, including the school editions of Page and Sidgwick.

He is said to have been of a shy and retiring disposition, but much loved by his intimate friends.

The *Eclogues*,¹ or *Bucolics*,² consist of ten poems of (on an average) eighty lines each. They are, like Virgil's other poems, written in hexameters, the metre which Homer had used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The *Eclogues* belong to the pastoral class of poetry, and are largely copied from Theocritus, a Greek poet who flourished in the early part of the third century B.C., and lived in Sicily and in Alexandria. Theocritus wrote the famous "*Idylls*":³ they are, for the most part, descriptive of country life, and are sometimes in the form of dialogue. They are written in hexameters in Doric, a dialect of Greek which was spoken in Sicily.

The first *Eclogue* is concerned with Virgil's farm, which was taken from him by a veteran of Octavian, but restored. Two shepherds—Melibœus and Tityrus—are the speakers. Tityrus, a slave overseer of a farm, has been to Rome to buy his freedom. He has seen Augustus, and received permission to remain on his land. He meets Melibœus, a shepherd who has been turned out of his farm. The *Eclogue* consists of the laments of Melibœus, and the gratitude of Tityrus. The poem, in fact, is an allegory: Melibœus is Virgil.

The second introduces Corydon, a shepherd, who complains that Alexis, a favourite slave of his master, will not return his affection. The idea, and much of the language, is Theocritean. This is the case also with the third *Eclogue*, a shepherd's singing match.

¹ The word is from the Greek, and means "selections."

² Greek word: "songs about herdsmen."

³ Greek word: "small sketches."

Authors of Rome

Two shepherds—Menalcas and Damoetas—meet and challenge each other to a competition of song. They then stake each two cups, which are described. Another shepherd acts as judge. They sing alternate couplets about their loves, their successes, their flocks. The match is decided to be drawn.

The fourth *Eclogue*¹ is a vision of the new golden age about to open under Augustus. This happy future is connected with the birth of a child, whom Virgil describes as recalling by his adventures and exploits the heroes of old, and rising at last to the company of the gods. This poem is of a different character from the rest: it is a "higher strain," as the poet calls it. Certain coincidences of language with the prophetic books of the Old Testament, especially Isaiah, led the early Fathers of the Church to a belief which long prevailed, but has now been exploded, that by the child was meant the Messiah.

In the fifth, two shepherds, Menalcas and Mopsus, meet: they retire into a cave, and make poetry about Daphnis. Mopsus sings the lament for his death, and Menalcas sings of his deification. It is probable that the poem belongs to the year 42 B.C., and refers to Julius Cæsar, who received divine honours in that year.

The sixth is addressed to Varus: it tells how shepherds found Silenus, an attendant of Bacchus, asleep: and bound him for a jest in his own chaplets. Silenus promises them a song to earn his release. He sings of the creation of the world, and stories from the mythology of Greece, such as those of

¹ See *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, by R. S. Conway, W. Warde Fowler, J. B. Mayor (Murray, 1907).

Prometheus and Hylas : also of the honours paid by Phœbus to the poet Gallus.

The seventh *Eclogue* belongs to the early period, of imitation of Theocritus without allusion to contemporary events. It is a story of a singing match between Corydon and Thyrsis. The eighth has two songs : one of the despair of a rejected lover, the other of the charms used by a deserted maiden to bring back her faithless lover Daphnis.

The ninth *Eclogue* concerns the same subject as the first—the confiscation of Virgil's farm. Mœris, a farm servant of Menalcas (Virgil), and a neighbour, Lycidas, fall to talking about Menalcas, and quote fragments of his songs.

The tenth has for its subject a love-romance of Cornelius Gallus, poet and soldier, and friend of Virgil : Gallus is described as a shepherd, dying on the mountains of Arcadia for love of his mistress. The poet, also a shepherd, breaks out into song over his friend's fate. He calls on the Nymphs, and describes the mountains, trees and wild beasts as coming to sympathise. Gallus replies that he would gladly have remained a shepherd, but a mad desire has made him a soldier, and the girl whom he loved has left him for another. He will sing pastorals, and carve his love's name on the tree : but all in vain ; it will not cure his love.

This is one of the best of the *Eclogues*. It shows Virgil's poetic genius, his tenderness and grace, his love of nature and his love of his friend. It has been a favourite with poets, especially Milton. The language of *Lycidas* is closely modelled on that of the "Gallus" *Eclogue*. For instance, with Virgil's

Authors of Rome

invocation "What woods, what mountain pastures held you, ye nymphs, when Gallus was dying of cruel love? for neither the peaks of Parnassus, nor any of Pindus caused you to tarry, nor Aonian Aganippe" (fountain of Helicon in Bœotia) we may compare a passage of *Lycidas*:¹

"Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?
For neither were ye playing on the steep,
Where your old bards, the famous Druids lie,
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where Deva spreads her wizard stream."

The places named in Milton are all near where Lycidas (his friend Edward King) was drowned on his passage from Chester to Ireland. They have, therefore, a greater appropriateness than those of Virgil.

The poetry of Theocritus is half nature and half art. It is, on the one hand, real: the shepherds that he describes are real, and true to nature, with sheep, flutes, loves, quarrels, jests. But the style is that of a court poet, tickling the tired ears of dwellers in the city by describing the life of Sicilian shepherds. Theocritus sings of Sicily, but he sings to Alexandrians.

In the *Eclogues*, Virgil uses the pastoral background as a convenient setting for his ideas. It was understood that when the poet began to talk of shepherds, no real shepherds were to be thought of, but that under cover of this convention he might introduce whatever he wished to say: a personal experience (such as that of *Eclogues*, i and ix), divine honours paid to the dead Cæsar (v), the love story of a friend (x), the birth of a son to one of his friends (iv).

¹ Verses 50 to 55,

Thus Virgil greatly extended the purely pastoral treatment of Theocritus. The conventional pastoral in all European languages dates from Virgil. Henceforth, kings, statesmen and poets are shepherds, and sing songs. In their shepherd dress, under their shepherd names, they discourse of affairs of Church or State, as in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* or Milton's *Lycidas*. The rural ditty as Theocritus knew it has changed to a "strain of higher mood." It is worthy of note that in English poetry the pastoral form has often, and most successfully, been used in elegy: *Lycidas*, Shelley's *Adonais*, Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*.

The *Georgics*¹ is a didactic poem, that is, its chief apparent object is to impart instruction, to teach. The earliest poem of this kind known to us is the *Works and Days* of the Greek poet Hesiod, who lived in or about the eighth century B.C. By "Works and Days" Hesiod meant "farm operations," and "days lucky and unlucky." Virgil has copied him in both these divisions, but the section with regard to days is in Virgil very short. Again, Hesiod wrote in a homely style, giving a number of precepts not only about farming, but justice, industry, the choice of a wife, navigation. In all except form, which is that of the Homeric hexameter, it is prose. If there had been a regular prose literature in his time, Hesiod would not have written in verse: as it was, he used the familiar epic metre and language, which were convenient as aids to memory.

Virgil's *Georgics* is a didactic poem of a kind in which he set the example in Latin: the desire to

¹ Greek word: "belonging to husbandry."

Authors of Rome

instruct is joined to the desire to please. The proportions in which these two aims are blended varies with different authors. With the Roman poet Lucretius, whose poem *De rerum natura* (on the nature of the universe) was published about twenty years before the *Georgics*, the chief aim is to convince. Hesiod and Lucretius were Virgil's chief models in the writing of his poem on farming.

Virgil describes his subject to us in the opening words of the first *Georgic*, as the tilling of the land, the growing of vines, the breeding of cattle, and bee-keeping. These are the subjects of his four books. Thus the work is "a manual for Farmers" in verse. It was based on Virgil's own practical experience as the owner of a farm in Northern Italy. Its purpose, however, was not only to teach how to farm, but to make men want to go back to the land, to revive the love of the land, and love of the Italian land, in the men of the new era which was beginning under Augustus. The subject was suggested to Virgil by Mæcenas, minister of Augustus.

The task was one suited only to a lover of nature. Virgil's sense of beauty extends to all parts of nature, which he pictures as alive and full of feeling: the earth, the corn fields, trees and sky. He was especially a lover of Italy. His sympathy is not only with man, who has to earn his bread in the sweat of his face, but with the animal world. He grieves for the nightingale robbed of her young, for cattle smitten by the plague, for the troubles and disappointments of bees. His feeling for the country, as opposed to the town, is best expressed in the famous passage at the end of the second *Georgic*, which is one of the finest

and most sustained passages in Latin poetry. He has been compared in this respect with Wordsworth, who had the same gentle trustful outlook on the world of nature, viewed as a manifestation of the power and love of the Creator.

The *Georgics* are of the average length of 550 lines. The first deals with the growing of corn, and begins with an invocation to the sun and moon which bring the seasons, the deities that give corn and wine, and who love the fields ; and to Augustus, who is invoked as a future deity. The farmer is advised to begin his ploughing at the beginning of spring, and to let it be thorough ; if the land be heavy, he should plough it early and deep, so that it may be fully exposed to the summer sun : if the land be light, it will suffice to give it a light ploughing towards September. Irrigation will save the young crop from perishing in drought ; and protection must be afforded against birds, weeds and shade. Jupiter has purposely made the task difficult, that he might sharpen men's wits, and save them from idleness. The husbandman must have proper " weapons " : ploughs, harrows, winnowing-fans, and so on with detail which Virgil lovingly accumulates. Passages of exceptional vigour occur to diversify the teaching ; not as in Lucretius, like " oases," but at short intervals, so that the reader's interest is kept on the alert. The description of the tornado¹ which uproots the crops when the corn is ripe for cutting : the signs² given by the sun, and by comets, in the year of Julius Cæsar's murder (44 B.C.), the appeal³ to the gods of Rome to allow Augustus to help a ruined age, a world where right and wrong are

¹ i. 312, etc.

² i. 416, etc.

³ i. 498, etc.

Authors of Rome

confounded, where the plough is dishonoured and fields lie untilled—these are among the finest in Virgil.

“Thus far I have sung of tillage, now I will tell of the vine, of trees also, and of the olive.” Such in effect is the beginning of the second *Georgic*: and this well sums up the contents of the book.

There are various ways of propagating trees: this leads to the varieties of trees, especially the vine. Different trees grow in different soils and climates; from one end of the world to the other there is diversity, yet no land can vie with Italy. There follows a famous digression,¹ in which the poet praises Italy for her corn and wine and olive trees, cattle and steeds and snow-white bulls. In it spring abides and summer lingers; flocks and trees twice yield increase: there are neither savage beasts nor deadly plants. We should take count too of all its glorious cities, of its seas and lakes and stately harbours, its hardy warriors and valiant leaders. “Hail, therefore, great land of Saturn: in thy honour I essay a theme ancient alike and glorious, chanting amid Roman towns the song of Ascra.” This is an allusion to Hesiod, the poet of the *Works and Days*, who lived at Ascra in Bœotia.

The kinds of soils must be distinguished. There follow precepts on the planting of vines. The olive, the other most valuable tree of Italy, comes next: it is quickly dealt with. It needs no care. Nor do fruit trees. The woods produce spear shafts from the myrtle: the yew is good for bows, the alder for boats: “happy indeed would husbandmen be, did they but know their own blessedness.” With these words

¹ ii. 136, etc.

Virgil begins one of the most nearly perfect passages¹ in the whole of ancient poetry. In the course of it he introduces an allusion to Lucretius: "Blessed indeed is he who could understand the nature of things," who trampled underfoot superstition, and banished the fear of hell. "But happy too is he who knows the rural gods."² Virgil did not look upon the old forms of worship with contempt, like Lucretius: he accepted them as part of the life and thought of man in Italy. The word "knows" is worthy of attention. The husbandman has come to recognise these emanations of the Power (Providence), and to know them as friends: the word could not have been used of malignant spirits.³ The picture here drawn of the husbandman, his fruitful labours, and his happy home, is no doubt idealised: but Virgil believes in it as the cure for man's troubles: the life of the old Sabines: the life by which "Rome became the fairest city on earth."

The third *Georgic* is concerned with cattle: horses and cows: their breeding and tending. The description of cattle⁴ in the steppes of South Russia during winter is most picturesque. The episode at the end of this book is an account of a plague (imitated from the sixth book of Lucretius), and is an example of Virgil's power in describing things mysterious and terrible.

The subject of the fourth *Georgic* is bees: how to keep them, their habits, the battles between rival "kings," for thus Virgil styles the queen bee. If he

¹ ii. 458, etc.

² ii. 493: fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestes.

³ Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (1915), p. 408.

⁴ iii. 349.

Authors of Rome

were not eager to end his task, possibly he would have sung of gardening too : and there follows a delightful passage about an old man who kept a garden near Tarentum, in South Italy. He was as proud as a king, growing flowers and vegetables, and living on his own produce. He always had the first roses and the first apples, while his hyacinths were in bloom long before winter was over. So his hives always prospered : the blossoms on his trees always came to fruit. But space compels Virgil to leave this space to others. It was filled in later days by Columella (A.D. 1 to 70) in the tenth book of his work on agriculture.

The instincts of bees and their social organisation are then described, in somewhat the same language as that used by Shakespeare :—¹

“ for so work the honey bees,
Creatures that, by a rule in nature, teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.”

From these signs some assert that bees possess that divine intelligence which pervades the universe. Virgil relates the discovery of Aristæus for obtaining a new stock of bees. The “ discovery ” is not of so much interest to us as the description of the fault which cost Aristæus the lives of his bees. Divine vengeance pursued him for the wrong done to Orpheus, whose bride Eurydice, in avoiding the pursuit of Aristæus, marked not a dreadful serpent in her path. The story of Eurydice and Orpheus² is the end of this most beautiful passage : probably Virgil’s mastery of the hexameter as an instrument

¹ *Henry V* : i. 2, 187, etc. With Virgil should be read Maeterlinck *Vie des Abeilles* (it has been translated into English).

² iv. 453, etc.

to express varying moods of joy, fear, hope, and as a medium for delightful description, is nowhere more apparent.

Dryden, who translated the *Georgics* into English rhyming verse, speaks of them as "the best poem of the best poet." Virgil has adorned all that he has touched: "those who wish fully to appreciate the skill exhibited in the *Georgics* should read the authors from whom the poet has largely borrowed his facts." Thus Virgil borrows from Cato the Elder, and the learned Varro. Into the dulness of their unimaginative prose he breathes the spirit of poetry; into the common task, the routine of husbandry, he conveys a sense of the dignity of labour, and moral lessons, such as the immutability of the laws which govern all the earth, the wisdom and justice of the Creator, the need of kindly care in those who are the guardians of youth.

A proof of the delight which Virgil took in his subject, and of his perfect command of it, is the playful spirit in which he writes: "a certain gaiety of thought or phrase which conveys to the reader a sense of pleasure in the scenes he describes." This is most frequent in the fourth book, when he is writing of the bees. He describes their life and their ways in a spirit of humorous solemnity, and even of mock-heroic exaggeration. The common bees are the young warriors, the Quirites (people of Rome): the hive is their "city," their "country," their "Penates" (household gods).

"Virgil had been the Roman Theocritus and the Roman Hesiod: he was now to be the Roman Homer." His relation to Homer is much the same as to Theo-

Authors of Rome

critus and Hesiod : in the process of imitation he creates a new style : he replaces the primitive epic, poetic stories of battles and adventures told for love of the story, such as we find in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, by a literary epic, which, while it adopts the form of the earlier poem, bears the marks of a later and more civilised age, is less spontaneous, and more artificial. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is a literary epic.

In writing the *Æneid*, Virgil's aim was to bring into Latin poetry the artistic treatment of Homer, and the unity of plot which marks the *Odyssey* (and in a lesser degree the *Iliad*). The Homeric hexameter, which was not yet at home in Latin, was to be adapted to the ponderous and slow-moving speech of Rome. The tenderness and grace of the legends of Greece, all that was best in her poets, was to be brought to the adornment of the new poem.

But imitation of the Greeks, however skilful and sympathetic, was not enough. The poem must be a national poem, an epic of Italy, of the greatness of Rome : much in the same way as Livy's *History* is a national history, charged with the belief in Rome's mission to govern the world.

The time had come for such an epic : peace and stable government had been given to the Roman world by Augustus, who desired, indeed commissioned, Virgil to write a poem which should glorify the Empire, stimulate the pride of the Romans in new era, and at the same time show how all past history was looking to this new era as to a natural and proper consummation. Pride in the past was to engender confidence in the future. Virgil, who held

this view of history, was learned in the lore of the past. He was also, as the author of the *Georgics*, the foremost poet of Italy. He accepted the task imposed upon him, and devoted the maturity of his life and powers to the writing of the *Æneid*, or story of the adventures of Æneas the Trojan, ancestor of the family of the Cæsars, and founder of the destinies of Rome.

Italian forerunners were not wanting: men who wrote history in verse, but could scarcely be ranked as poets. Chief among these is Ennius (239–169), who fought in the second Punic war. The *Annales* of Ennius was an epic on the history of Rome, which began with Troy, and came down to his own time. The purpose of Ennius, his sense of the destiny of his nation, was superior to his workmanship.

The *Æneid* begins—

“I sing of arms and the man who first from shores of Troy came to Italy by destiny’s decree.”

Æneas, an exile from Troy, was long prevented from reaching Italy. When the Trojan ships leave Sicily, Juno persuades Æolus, king of the winds, to raise a storm on the sea. The fleet is scattered, the exiles are cast ashore at Carthage. Dido, queen of Carthage, appears: the Trojans are made known to her. She welcomes them, and invites them to a banquet. Dido asks Æneas to tell her the story of his adventures.

Æneas describes¹ how the Greeks built a wooden horse: a deserter from the Greeks tells the Trojans that, if they admit the horse to the city, Troy will conquer Greece. The horse is admitted; in the night

¹ Book ii. The description of the fall of Troy is admirable in its dramatic power.

Authors of Rome

the deserter unbars it, the Greek chieftains who were hiding within it come out and open the gates to their comrades. The Greeks prevail. Priam is killed. Troy is taken. After heroic efforts, Æneas is warned by visions from heaven to leave the city : he takes his aged father Anchises and his son Ascanius with him.

He builds a fleet,¹ and sails first to Thrace, then to Delos, next to Crete. From each place he is driven in turn by unfavourable omens : at length he learns that Italy is his destined goal. He finds his way up the Adriatic, and meets Andromache, and her husband Helenus, a prophet, who foretells the future. Sailing south again, he touches at Sicily, and sees the fierce shepherd race called the Cyclopes. He passes round Sicily to the West coast. Anchises dies. A wind drives the Trojans to Carthage, and thus at the end of the third book, after the account of Æneas' wanderings, we are brought to the same point as at the beginning of the first.

Dido's love for Æneas increases.² Juno arranges a secret meeting between them, at which they pledge their love to one another. But Mercury is sent from heaven to Æneas, bidding him leave Carthage forthwith. Æneas prepares to do so. Dido suspects his intention and reproaches him. He pleads his duty to the gods, and sets sail with all his men. Dido ascends a funeral pyre which she has built under some pretext, and stabs herself.

The Trojans reach Sicily.³ Æneas institutes a feast and games in memory of his dead father.

¹ Book iii. ² Book iv : one of the great books of the *Æneid*.

³ Book v.

Descriptions are given of a boat race, a foot race, a boxing match, a cavalry ride led by Ascanius. Incited by Juno, the Trojan matrons, weary of wandering over the seas, burn Æneas' ships. The fire is stopped by rain sent in answer to the prayers of Æneas. He resolves to leave the faint-hearted behind in Sicily. With the rest, he sets sail for Italy.

At the bidding of the gods, Æneas visits the temple of Apollo¹ at Cumæ on the Italian coast. The sibyl finds him there, and leads him to the lower world, where he breaks off the "golden bough," which is to be a talisman to protect him. He crosses the Styx, and sees the souls of the dead, their shadowy life, and their punishments. At length he comes to the Elysian fields, and finds Anchises, who shows him the souls of the Romans who will be born in days to come. He returns to the light of day. Æneas sails² towards the north along the west coast of Italy, and enters the mouth of the River Tiber.

Latinus, king of the Latins, learns from portents that his daughter Lavinia will marry a stranger. He welcomes the Trojans, and promises Lavinia to Æneas. Juno in jealousy calls up the Fury Allecto, who incites Amata, wife of Latinus, against the Trojans. Turnus, king of the Rutuli, a suitor of Lavinia, joins Amata. The Italian peasants are roused to arms. Juno opens the Gates of War. There follows a catalogue of the chieftains and their men.

Father Tiber,³ the river god, appears to Æneas, and tells him he must make friends with Evander the Arcadian, who is settled on the site of the future

¹ Book vi: the noblest book of the whole poem; of itself sufficient to make Virgil immortal. ² Book vii. ³ Book viii.

Authors of Rome

Rome. Æneas sails up the Tiber, and is welcomed by Evander and his son Pallas. They tell him the legend of Hercules, to whom they are sacrificing at the time of his arrival. Evander shows Æneas the settlement. Venus persuades Vulcan to make a suit of armour for Æneas. Evander bids farewell to Pallas, who goes with Æneas to the Etruscan camp to ask for aid. Venus brings to Æneas the heavenly armour, which bears on it scenes from the future history of Rome.

Juno¹ warns Turnus that Æneas is away. The Latins and Rutulians advance, and the Trojans are confined to their camp. Two Trojan friends, Nisus and Euryalus, resolve to make a night attack on the Latin camp. At first they are successful, but at dawn they are overtaken and killed. The Latins attack the Trojan camp : Turnus actually penetrates it, but is driven out. A Council² of the gods is held. Venus speaks for the Trojans, Juno against. Jupiter lets things take their course. Æneas returns with reinforcements : Pallas is killed by Turnus.

A truce³ is proclaimed. The dead are buried. Pallas receives a stately funeral : Turnus, impelled by public opinion, resolves on single combat with Æneas. The Volscian maiden Camilla fights bravely on the side of Turnus, but is slain. Latinus and Amata urge Turnus to decline the combat, but he refuses. A treaty is made before the duel ; if the Trojans win, the two nations shall unite. The Rutulians object, and renew the fight. Æneas is wounded and with-

¹ Book ix : the description of Nisus and Euryalus, their attempt upon the Latin camp, and their end, is one of the finest episodes in Virgil.

² Book x.

³ Book xi.

draws. Turnus deals destruction among the Trojans. Æneas returns and meets Turnus in battle : defeats him, and would spare his life, but seeing on him a belt taken from the body of his friend Pallas, he gives Turnus his death-blow.¹

The *Æneid* is the story of a man with a mission. Æneas is a warrior, a ruler, and a civiliser of men. His mission is to overcome the warlike tribes of Italy, to give them customs, and to build them cities. He impersonates all that is great in the achievements of Rome. Indeed Æneas is Rome.

His life, like the history of Rome, is one of struggle, of endeavour, of difficulties overcome by love and faith. The epithet so often applied to him (*pious*) conveys several meanings : love of a son to his father, of a king to his people, of a worshipper to his gods : all summed up in the Roman quality of *pietas*, sense of duty.

Thus the destiny of Rome, guided by the divine will, as the conqueror and civiliser of mankind, is the true theme of the *Æneid*. But this destiny has been accomplished by the service of man, by his loyalty, self-sacrifice, and sense of duty. Æneas is the type of these qualities : and is more a type than a living man. Hence the charge that he is dull and uninteresting.

Recent study,² however, has met this charge by demonstrating that there is a development in the character of Æneas within the poem : that he is not a heroic type when the story opens, but becomes so

¹ The concluding part of the twelfth book is full of majesty, and the subtlety of the rhythm is even greater than in the *Georgics*.

² Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (Macmillan, 1911) : lecture xviii, p. 403.

Authors of Rome

by a process of preparation, which is the result of religious influence. At first he yields to despair, bewails his fate on the first approach of danger, needs to be reminded of his duty. He is gradually prepared for his task : and the first six books describe the preparation. The scenes at Carthage form part of this : he admires Dido, forgets his mission, is reminded of the will of Heaven, crushes his love, and leaves Dido to her fate. Again, in the sixth book, he has the mysteries of death revealed to him : as a son he goes to meet his father's spirit, as a king and law-giver he is initiated into the knowledge of the future life. Thus purged of worldly and selfish interests, and confident in the coming greatness of his people, he is equipped for his task : his courage and steadfastness never again fail him : he looks ever forward, relying on divine protection. The shield which he carries (gift of Vulcan) is adorned with scenes of the future, not of the past.

The introduction of the story of Dido suits the general purpose of the poem. The story is not merely a romantic interlude : it is intended to show that duty to family, State, and gods will rise superior to the allurements of individual passion and selfish ease. In our eyes, Æneas was guilty of treachery in his desertion of Dido : but a Roman reader would see that the fault of Æneas was not in leaving Dido, the foreign queen, Queen of *Carthage*, but in remaining with her and abandoning his task.

The *Æneid* is imitative. It is founded upon Homer ; the first part is based on the *Odyssey*, the second part on the *Iliad*. It contains many passages copied directly from Homer : the characters are imitated

from those of Homer. Other Greek poets, though not to the same extent, suggest phrases to Virgil: so also do the Roman poets Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus. But the *Æneid* is also a creative work.¹ It fuses together borrowed phrases, often improving them in the process, so that they become Virgil's by right of successful adaptation.

Similarly, Shakespeare is imitative: nearly all his plots are derived from others: in the Roman plays the plot and much of the language is copied from Plutarch. But Shakespeare is also a great creative artist, in whom we recognise the right to copy if—as is almost always the case—he improves what he borrows. Milton is imitative, in the sense that he transferred to his poetry the spirit, and many of the phrases of classical and of Italian poets: but he is also creative; he fuses all his knowledge into the one great purpose of justifying the ways of God to man. In modern times imitation is expected to be less direct, more subtle and allusive, but in Virgil's time there was no higher praise than to transfer a passage successfully from Greek to Latin. When reproached with copying Homer, he is reported to have said that it was easier to take from Hercules his club than to take from Homer one line.

Other criticisms of the *Æneid* may be read in Dryden's *Discourse on Epic Poetry*, which he prefixed (in 1697) to his translation of the *Æneid*. The chief objections (which Dryden answers) are directed against the moral purpose of the poem, and the

¹ The sixth book of the *Æneid* is on the same subject as the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* (the life beyond the grave): but the thought of Virgil is more profound, and more closely allied to his main subject.

Authors of Rome

character of the hero. Dryden conceives the purpose of the *Æneid* to be the infusing into the Roman people of respect for Augustus, who had given them peace, and restored to them the practices of religion ; he regards this as " honest in the poet, honourable to the Emperor, and profitable to the age." He replies to the charges of cowardice in *Æneas*, of falsity to Dido (Virgil was partial to Roman interests against the foundress of Carthage), want of invention (Dryden has a spirited defence of Virgil's independence), the use of the divine " machinery " (it was not for Virgil to create new " ministers " : he must take what he found in his religion). " Virgil wrote to please the most judicious, of the highest rank and truest understanding. These are few in number, but whoever is so happy as to gain their approbation can never lose it, because they never give it blindly. They have a certain magnetism in their judgment which attracts others to their sense. Every day they gain some new proselyte, and in time become the Church."

A fault which is not noticed by Dryden, but has often been discussed in recent times, is Virgil's hesitation between two conceptions of the epic : the customs of the heroic age are not perfectly blended with the thoughts on art, nature, human life which belongs to a highly civilised age. In the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* this difficulty did not arise in the same degree : they are, or profess to be, descriptions of the simple life of the farmer or the shepherd of Virgil's own day. The *Æneid* misses the energy of Homer, who wrote not long after the heroic age. The Homeric battle is in place in Homer : when

transferred to Virgil it becomes frigid, unconvincing. Also, in the fourth book of the *Æneid*, the character of Æneas is antique, "heroic": duty weighs with him beyond all else: but Dido is a modern romantic heroine, a creature of flesh and blood, and changing moods. This illustrates the difficulty which Virgil felt throughout the poem: perhaps his sense of failure, of the contradiction between conception and execution, was the reason why he wished the *Æneid* to be destroyed. It has been said that, in the character of Dido, Virgil struck the chord of modern passion, and it vibrated more powerfully than the minstrel himself expected. "He is for ever being borne whither he would not by a spirit of which the processes elude and the end startles." But the result is often greater than he planned.

Of all Virgil's sentiments, none is more truly or typically his than his tenderness, which appears in many places; in a single line, or phrase, or word: always under restraint. He has a special pity for those who die before their youthful promise can be fulfilled: Æneas addresses Lausus his enemy in tones of tender sorrow for his untimely end. The reference to the young Marcellus, towards the end of the sixth book, conveys a similar pity. In this respect the *Æneid* is the voice not only of Rome, but of mankind.

The influence of Virgil on poets ancient and modern has been widespread, and in some cases profound. All Roman writers of epic who succeeded Virgil have copied him: for example, Lucan and Statius, who wrote in the first century of our era.

Three great poets have been profoundly influenced by him: Dante (1265 to 1321) in the Vision described

Authors of Rome

in his *Divina Commedia* (the action of which opens in 1300) is led by Virgil through the two lower realms of the next world, Hell and Purgatory. In Virgil we are intended to see the symbol of natural religion. Beatrice, who guides Dante through Paradise, is the symbol of revealed religion. The poem shows the deep admiration felt by Dante for a great master of poetry, and a most saintly soul, Italy's noblest son in pagan times. Virgil was to a certain extent recognised by the Church in the Middle Ages: in his fourth *Eclogue* (as we have seen) he was supposed to have prophesied the coming of Christ. Popular fancy attributed to him magical powers, and as a wizard he plays a considerable part in many folk-tales. Omens of the future were drawn from the passage which met the eye when his poems were opened at random.

John Milton (1608 to 1674), who was compared by Dryden in famous lines (beginning with the words "Three poets in three distant ages born") to Homer and Virgil, was an ardent student of Virgil: his *Lycidas* (as has been said above) is a pastoral poem in the style of the *Eclogues*, from which many of his phrases are copied. His *Paradise Lost* is to an even greater extent penetrated with the moral purpose and the noble language of the *Æneid*.

Alfred Tennyson (1809 to 1892), also a close student of Virgil, venerated him both as romantic and as classical:¹ romantic because he infused into his poetry his own individual emotions, and filled it with the breath and pulse of life: classical, because he

¹ See letter from F. W. H. Myers in *Tennyson, a Memoir* (Macmillan, 1897), Vol. ii, p. 481.

studied those relations of sound, rhythm, and colour which make the essential principle of his art. Tennyson has paid a tribute of admiration and affection of poet to poet in his lines on Virgil, which were written at the request of the Mantuans for the nineteenth centenary of Virgil's death, and gracefully allude in turn to *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Æneid* :

“ Roman Virgil, thou that singest
 Ilion's lofty temples robed in fire,
 Ilion falling, Rome arising,
 wars, and filial faith, and Dido's pyre :

Landscape-lover, lord of language
 more than he that sang the ' Works and Days,'
 All the chosen coin of fancy
 flashing out from many a golden phrase ;

Thou that singest wheat and woodland,
 tilth and vineyard, hive and horse and herd ;
 All the charm of all the Muses
 often flowering in a lonely word ;

.

Chanter of the Pollio, glorying
 in the blissful years again to be,
 Summers of the snakeless meadow,
 unlaborious earth and oarless sea ;

Thou that seest Universal
 Nature moved by universal mind ;
 Thou majestic in thy sadness
 at the doubtful doom of human kind ;

.

I salute thee, Mantovano,
 I that loved thee since my day began,
 Wielder of the stateliest measure
 Ever moulded by the lips of man.”

Authors of Rome

TRANSLATIONS :—

Verse : Dryden, 1697.

W. Morris (*Æneid*), 1876.

Rhoades (*Æneid*), 1907.

Prose : Mackail, *Æneid* (Macmillan, 1908); *Bucolics* and *Georgics* (1915).

Other works :—

Garrod : in *English Literature and the Classics*.

Glover : *Studies in Virgil* : 5th edition. (Methuen, 1923).

Sellar : *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age (Virgil)* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897).

Sikes : *Roman Poetry* (Methuen, 1923).

Warde Fowler : *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (Macmillan, 1911).

Corydon and Alexis. (Eclogues, ii. 1-13.)

The shepherd Corydon was afire with passion for Alexis his master's love, but had no ground for hope—yet evermore he haunted the hill-tops where the shadow of the beech-trees lies deep. There, in his solitude, to the mountains and the woods he poured forth these artless strains in his hopeless longing.

“O cruel Alexis, earest thou nothing for my songs? Hast thou no pity for thy lover? Thou wilt end by driving me to death. Already the cattle seek the cooling shade, and beneath the bramble the green lizards hide. And for the reapers weary with the onset of the heat Thestylis crushes the garlie and the thyme, strong scented herbs. But together with my song, while I wonder where thou hast trod, the brushwood echoes with the cricket's strident notes.”¹

Orpheus and Eurydice. (Georgics, iv. 485-503.)

And now at last with homing steps he had escaped all dangers, and Eurydice restored to him had all but reached the upper air, following in his wake, for thus had Proserpine laid down her ruling; when sudden folly seized the hapless lover, a folly surely meet for pardon, if pardon were known to the Fates. He halted, and all-forgetful, alas, with resolution overcome looked back upon Eurydice, his love, now treading o'er light's very threshold. Then was all his labour lost, and the pledges of the stern tyrant broken, and thrice did a mighty crash re-echo o'er Avernus pools. And she spake: “Who,” she said, “hath undone me, hapless that I am, and thee too, Orpheus? Whence this overweening madness? Once more, alas, the cruel Fates demand that I return, and sleep weighs down my swimming eyes. And now farewell. I go, veiled in immeasurable night, stretching forth my

¹ Compare Tennyson's lines in *Enone*—

For now the noonday quiet holds the hill;
The grasshopper is silent in the grass:
The lizard, with his shadow on the stone,
Rests like a shadow, and the cicada sleeps.
The purple flower droops, the golden bee
Is lily-cradled: I alone awake.

Authors of Rome

feeble hands to thee, ah, thine no more." She spake, and sudden from his eyes she turned and fled, like smoke that mingles with the tenuous air, nor did she behold him more, clutching vainly at the shades, and longing to speak much beside. Neither would the dark ferryman suffer him again to cross the marsh that lay outspread before him.

The Abode of the Blest. (Æneid, vi. 637-665.)

When these rites have been performed, and obeisance to the goddess done, they came to the happy land, the Joyous Pleasaunce of the Blissful Groves, the Abode of the Blest. Here a larger air breathes o'er the plains, and clothes them in purple radiance, and sun and stars of their own they know. Some train their limbs in exercise upon the grass, striving in games, and wrestling on the golden sand. Some ply the nimble foot in dancing, singing songs the while. There, too, a long-robed Thracian minstrel accompanies his numbers on the seven-stringed lyre, striking it now with his fingers, now with his ivory plectrum. Here too is seen the ancient race of Teucer, a lordly line; great-souled heroes born in nobler years, Ilus, Assaræus, and Dardanus, Troy's founder. From afar, Æneas gazes marvelling at the arms, and chariots empty of their drivers. Spears are standing driven into the ground, and everywhere untethered horses roam grazing through the plains. For the joy that each hero felt in life, in chariots or in arms, the pride in rearing sleek-coated chargers, he keeps unchanged when laid away in earth. And lo, again he turns his gaze upon another company feasting to right and left upon the sward, singing in chorus a joyful pæan, amid the fragrant laurel-grove, whence from above the mighty stream Eridanus rolls its waters through the forest. Here is the band of those who suffered wounds when fighting for their fatherland, and priests who, while life lasted, lived in holiness, and pious bards who gave forth utterances worthy of Phœbus, and those who made life fruitful by the arts which they devised, and those whom men remember for their merits. All these were there, their temples bound with snowy fillets.

HORACE

QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS (HORACE) was born in 65 B.C. at Venusia, a Roman colony on the borders of Apulia and Lucania, in Southern Italy. His father was a freed man: a tax-collector, who had saved some money, and removed from Venusia to Rome, where he watched over his son's education. Horace, whose works contain many allusions to his early life, writes with affectionate gratitude of his father's devotion. From school, where his master was the grammarian Orbilius, known as *plagosus*, the "man of stripes," Horace went to Athens, which was then what Oxford or Cambridge is now, a University town. He studied philosophy: and made friends, by whom he was induced to join the army which was being raised by Marcus Junius Brutus, the Liberator. Horace, who was then only about twenty-two years of age, received the appointment of military tribune, with the command of a legion. He marched with Brutus through Thrace, and crossed to Asia Minor, from which he returned to take part in the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), where the cause of Brutus was ruined. Horace shared in the ruin, and on his return to Rome he became clerk in one of the public offices. He tells us that it was poverty that drove him to make verses. His first work was satires, and satiric "epodes": the former in hexameters, copied from the Roman Lucilius, the latter in lyrical metres copied from the Greek Archilochus. An introduction followed to Mæcenas, by whom he was invited to join his circle, which included the poet Virgil. From this time Horace had recognition in plenty: his material wants were

Authors of Rome

satisfied by the Sabine farm given him by Mæcenas, on which he spent the summer and autumn of each year.

To Mæcenas, in gratitude for his kindness, Horace addressed the first satire of the first book, the first epode, the first ode, and the first epistle. In 35 B.C. appeared the first book of his *Satires*: in or about 30 B.C. the second book of the *Satires*: about 23 B.C. the first three books of the *Odes* together: in 20 B.C. the first book of *Epistles*: in 17 B.C. the *Carmen Sæculare*, written at the request of Augustus, which marks the position of poet laureate held by Horace, two years after the death of Virgil. In 14 B.C. came the fourth book of the *Odes*, also written by command, to celebrate the victories of Tiberius, Augustus' stepson. Mæcenas, who had remained Horace's good friend till the end of his life, died early in 8 B.C., and Horace died later in the same year.

Few poets have been more "autobiographical" than Horace. He tells us of his appearance ("short, prematurely grey, fond of the sunshine, quick-tempered but easily appeased"), and sketches his daily life in Rome, and on his Sabine farm. He assumes that we are interested in him, and takes us into his confidence. Much of the *Satires* and *Epistles* is in the style of conversation, easy, good-natured, familiar, rich in experience: in fact, the well-bred and instructive conversation of a man of the world. Even now time has not made him seem ancient or out of date. We may almost say of him that he is not of an age, but for all time. There is a fund of human sympathy about his work which keeps him ever fresh: "more almost than any poet of equal eminence, he lived in the present and actual world."

In Horace, there are really two poets : the Horace of the *Odes* and the Horace of the *Epistles*. His other work comes in between these extremes : with *Odes* we shall group the *Epodes*, with the *Epistles* we shall group the *Satires*.

The *Odes* (and *Epodes*) are a collection of short lyrical pieces, with an average length of about 30 lines.¹ They are written in metres usually borrowed from Greek, especially from the lyrical poets Alcæus and Sappho, who gave their names to the Alcaic and Sapphic stanza respectively. In many of the *Odes* Greek originals can be traced, and in others are suspected. Horace indeed was content to be an imitator and translator of Alcæus and Sappho, and laid no claim to direct lyrical inspiration. In the fragments of those Greek poets we see an intensity of feeling which Horace never possessed : similarly, if we compare him with the Roman Catullus, he is seen to be without the passionate love or hate which is felt in Catullus' shortest poems. Horace writes much of love, and of the women whom he has loved : of hate, or rather of malice and spite : much of wine and revelry : but we are not convinced that his feelings are genuine. The true Horace, especially in middle age—and the *Odes* are the work of his middle age—is the easy-going philosophic observer of life, the critic of men, manners, and books : the preacher of the Aristotelian mean, the foe of all excess, all extravagance.

The range of subjects in the *Odes* is wide : some are poems of love or hate : many praise youthful beauty

¹ *Odes*, Books i to iv, 103 poems, 2900 lines : *Epodes*, 17 poems, 573 lines : *Carmen Sæculare*, 76 lines.

Authors of Rome

or vigour of body : others describe the scenery of his well-loved Tibur (Tivoli, east of Rome), with its orchards and its clear-sounding waterfalls : some speak of his narrow escapes in battle, or by shipwreck, or from the fall of a tree on his farm : others treat subjects from Greek mythology, such as the story of Europa, the fair nymph who was carried off by the amorous Jove, or the daughters of Danaus who—all save one—murdered their husbands on the marriage night. Others are on the degeneracy of the age. Several urge the necessity of enjoying the moment as it flies ; “gather rosebuds while ye may ”¹ (in the Latin, *carpere diem*, to pluck life as a flower). Some of the finest of the odes are those which call up the story of Rome’s past, the constancy of her sons, such as Regulus, who in the first Punic war gave his life rather than break his word, and went back to certain death as quietly as if he were on his way to his country seat : or they touch on the services of the family of Nero (Tiberius’ ancestor) in the second Punic war. These patriotic odes were suggested by Augustus, who was anxious to restore the old Italian simplicity of life, the moral earnestness and religious feelings of earlier days. But Horace did not write until he had assured himself that the plans of Augustus were wisely and truly laid. His poems are the testimony of a man of high and independent spirit, who bore witness to the value of the restoration, the “renaissance ” which was being effected in the life of Italy.

Horace is a moral teacher in these odes, in which

¹ Compare Ronsard *Sonnet à Hélène* : “ Cueillez dès aujourd’hui les roses de la vie.”

he brings into lyrical poetry much of the pride and trust in his country that Virgil brought to the writing of the *Æneid*, or Livy to the writing of his history. He is a worldly adviser again in the odes in which he reminds us that life is brief, illustrating this, as he does more than once, from the changing seasons. But several of his odes contain no moral appeal; do not even exhort us to gather the flowers of the day. These move us by their sheer beauty: as, for instance, the dialogue between Horace and Lydia, in the third book (ode 9). It is perhaps nearer to perfection than any other of his poems: a little comedy of quarrel and reconciliation, heartless, light as air, but exquisite in phrasing, and as beautiful as the work of the Greek lyrists. It reminds us, in modern times, of eighteenth century poets, Gay or Prior: or of the French paintings of the school of Watteau.

Horace's *Odes*, as a collection, are unlike any other group of lyrics. They are imitative, but they are also in a high degree original. If they had been mere reflections of Alcæus and Sappho, they would not have survived, to be many times imitated, and translated, but never recaptured. What is the secret of their appeal?

First their universality: Horace never loses sight of the larger and more permanent interests of mankind.¹ His thought and feeling are common-place, but in both he is "plumb on the centre." He never gets beyond his depth, nor beyond our depth, but keeps within the compass of events of everyday life

¹ In the ode the lyric recovers the universal note, with something of the objective character of epic or drama fused into the lyric exaltation: we speak of the odes of Horace, the lyrics of Catullus.

Authors of Rome

such as all may experience, or sentiments of which the appeal is felt by all.

Secondly, his inimitable style : a “ curious felicity ” as it has been called in Latin phrase, which is rather a “ painstaking felicity,” the success which crowns work, the choice of the right word which is not a chance inspiration but the result of loving labour. The *Odes* are the despair of the translator, yet many have tried, many more will try, to bring into English, or some other modern tongue, those phrases, brief, significant, majestic, sonorous, which in the Latin have become immortal. In condensation and in finish Horace is one of the foremost of literary artists. Perhaps some of the French “ Parnassiens,” for example, Leconte de Lisle, or the sonnetteer Hérédia, are the nearest parallel in perfection of form.

Upon the English ode, Horace had smaller influence. Our poets, since the time of Abraham Cowley (about 1650) have been usually under the influence of Pindar, or rather his supposed influence, for the workmanship of Pindar, his division into strophe and antistrophe, was not understood. Consequently English odes have been written “ under a storm of heroic emotion, which conducted them, without sail or oar, in whatever direction the poet’s enthusiasm chose to direct.” Such are the odes of Cowley, of Dryden, of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson : while the true Pindaric ode, with its elaborate measures, its recurrent strophes, is imitated by Gray (*Progress of Poesy, Bard*), and by Swinburne.

The *Carmen Sæculare* stands by itself. It was written for a special occasion, the performance of

the *Ludi Sæculares*, certain games which formed part of the antiquarian and religious revival of Augustus. The games which they professed to revive had been celebrated only four times before the age of Augustus : their foundation is ascribed to the earliest days of the republic (500 B.C.). The length of the *sæculum*, or "age," of which they commemorated the end, was about 100 years (in Horace it is 110 years). The celebration of 17 B.C., marking the end of the first ten years of the empire, was the outward expression of the idea that a regeneration was at hand for Rome and Italy, and that a new era of innocence and prosperity was about to open. Hence the Roman people could look forward in hope and confidence to the future. Of this celebration we have an almost complete account. We already knew the outline of the ritual, and the text of Horace's hymn, written for the occasion, when, in September, 1890, an inscription found at Rome, and containing Horace's name as author of the hymn, gave us further information. It showed the ideas which Horace was no doubt instructed by Augustus to introduce into the poem : ideas of religion, morality, fertility of beasts and crops. He was to include the deities who had been addressed during the ceremonies which extended over several days : and to give the most prominent place to those who were worshipped on its last day : Apollo, to whom Augustus had built a great temple close to his own house, as his own protecting deity, and Diana, sister of Apollo. The hymn was sung by choirs of boys and girls on the Capitol, and also before the new temple of Apollo, thus uniting in one performance the old religion of republican Rome with the new Imperial

Authors of Rome

worship. An analysis of this important ode is as follows :—

“ May Phœbus and Diana grant the prayers duly offered at this sacred season. May the sun-god (Phœbus) let Rome’s pre-eminence be as unchanging as the sun, may Diana guard the mothers of Rome. May both bless the new marriage laws, to the increase of the people. May the destinies add future blessings to the past : fertility of earth and cattle. Apollo, hear us boys : Diana, hear us girls.

Give our youth the manly prime of Æneas, our old men his old age. Grant the prayers offered by Æneas’ great descendant, who has subdued the Mede and the Indian, and has restored peace and virtue. Phœbus and Diana, promise increasing prosperity : and may all the gods approve and join in the blessing.”

The hymn contains a reference to the *Æneid* : Virgil had died two years before. Augustus, the Æneas of the empire, is the leading figure in the hymn, as he was in the sacrifices which it commemorates.

As we have seen, the word *Satura*, whence satire is derived, means a “ medley,” a “ miscellany.” It may be a metaphor from the kitchen : the literal meaning, a “ hotch-potch,” “ stew,” being transferred to a collection of poems, miscellaneous in subject and different in metre. *Satura* in Latin was always discursive : it roamed from subject to subject, and had no real unity. It was also dramatic, and dialogue constantly comes into it. It was, in fact, a mixture of character-sketches in dramatic form with practical comments on life in general, and had a strong flavour of the country.

Satura as drama was killed by the imported "New Comedy": but it survived as Satire, one of the few original literary forms in Italy.

Ennius (239 to 169 B.C.), the first Roman satirist, drew on Æsop's fables for prudential maxims, and fragments of moral philosophy: but the first Roman writer to import into satire the element (which we usually associate with the word) of personal attack and invective was Lucilius (180 to 103 B.C.). He was a man of good family: a member of the Scipionic circle: a good hater, who "tore away the veil from private life, and arraigned high and low alike, showing no favour except to virtue and the virtuous." He turned for inspiration to the writers of the Old Comedy of Athens—Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes—who all indulged freely in personal abuse, especially of political opponents. The setting of the satire of Lucilius is the familiar life of everyday. He describes a dinner-party, or a journey, or a dialogue between master and slave. He keeps up a close relationship with his readers.

Varro, a contemporary and friend of Cæsar and Cicero, followed, but in the non-contentious style of Ennius. His simple philosophy of life, and humorous sympathy, have been compared to Cowper's *Task*. Horace has something of both branches of satire. He begins in the manner of Lucilius: but is offended with his rude style, saying of him that he "flowed on in muddy current": and prided himself on writing two hundred verses "standing on one leg." Hence Horace set himself the task of modernising and civilising Lucilius, with the aid of a worldly but kindly philosophy like that of Ennius and Varro,

Authors of Rome

and a refinement which suited his own character and his own times. Indeed Horace's *Satires* are not satires in the English sense of the word.

It has been suggested that French satirists, such as Boileau (1636 to 1711 A.D.), incline to the method of Horace, English satirists such as Dryden, Swift, Johnson, to that of Juvenal, who wrote about A.D. 100. Voltaire, however, is an exception to the first rule, and Pope to the second. The model of Voltaire is Juvenal; of Pope, Horace.

Horace's manner in satire is ridicule, playful banter, irony: "Horace, the rogue, probes each single fault while making his friend laugh: he gains his entrance, and plays about the innermost feelings, with a sly talent for tossing up his nose and catching the public on it."¹ Here again we see his dislike of extremes in vice and in virtue. Some of his keenest ridicule is applied to the Stoics, who in their exaltation of virtue treated all faults as equal, and punished small offences as severely as serious ones.

The *Satires* are written in hexameters, in the ordered form of poetry: but they are prose in manner, "conversations," *sermones*. The verse is loosely constructed: and the language is very little removed from the colloquial style of ordinary intercourse.

The first book (published 35 B.C.) contains ten satires: one (introductory) on the variety and inconsistency of human ambitions: most men say they would rather change occupations with someone else, yet if they could change, they would not. Another² is on the theme "fools in avoiding one fault rush to the opposite fault." Men again³ are quick to see the

¹ From the satirist Persius (A.D. 34 to 62). ² i. 2. ³ i. 3.

weak points of others : their own weaknesses they cannot see. The fourth and the tenth satires are on literary criticism : the merits and demerits of the old school of authors, including Lucilius. A journey to Brundisium, which Horace made (37 B.C.) in the company of Mæcenas, Virgil, and others is the subject of the fifth : the next answers fault-finders who pointed scornfully to Horace as a freedman's son. It tells of his early life, and of the care his father took over his education. It represents Horace in an attractive light.

After a trivial poem dating from Horace's early visit to Asia Minor, and a vicious attack on the witch Canidia, we come in the ninth satire to perhaps the most amusing in the book : the story of the " bore " who fastened on Horace one day, and tried to get an introduction to Mæcenas. This is a well-planned composition, with characters clearly drawn and consistently sustained. It has been copied by Regnier, in one of his satires, *Le Fâcheux*.

In the second book (published 30 B.C.) Horace once more¹ has to defend himself, this time against the charge of excessive severity. His ridicule had made him enemies : he is advised by the lawyer Trebatius to desist from writing satire, but indignantly refuses. But he will never attack wantonly. His sword will remain in the scabbard until it has to be drawn in self-defence. The picture which he draws of the friendship between Lucilius, Scipio, Lælius is delightful.

The extravagance of Roman epicures forms the subject of more than one satire in this book (the second

¹ ii. 1.

Authors of Rome

and the fourth). Others are criticisms of the Stoic views which regard all men as mad except the philosopher, the ideal *sapiens*¹: or of the arts of those who spend their time in flattering the rich,² especially the childless rich: or of the attempts of his acquaintances in Rome to take advantage of his intimacy with Mæcenæ.³ Sometimes he exposes his own weaknesses,⁴ which are made manifest to him by his slave Davus under cover of the licence permitted at the festival of the *Saturnalia*, when masters for a moment became slaves, and slaves became masters: or he ridicules the pretentiousness⁵ of an upstart who gives a costly banquet and invites important guests, only to be laughed at. These are the subjects which Horace handles with great knowledge of character, and with a temper that has become kindlier and more mellow than before.

The influence of those satires upon later Latin writers is most conspicuous in the case of the satirist Persius (A.D. 34 to 62), who constantly imitates their phraseology, but not their geniality and maturity. In his *Essay on Satire*, Dryden praises Persius for his sincerity, and for sticking to his own philosophy: "he shifts not sides like Horace, who is sometimes an Epicurean, sometimes a Stoic, as his present humour leads him." It is perhaps not premature to refer to the comparison between Horace and Juvenal made by Dryden in this *Essay* (date 1682). The differences between them are more marked than the similarities. Dryden would divide the palm between them upon the two heads of profit and delight. "I am

¹ ii. 3.

² ii. 5.

³ ii. 6.

⁴ ii. 7.

⁵ ii. 8: compare Regnier's satire *Le Repas Ridicule*

profited by both, I am pleased by both : but I owe more to Horace for my instruction, and more to Juvenal for my pleasure." "Folly was the proper quarry of Horace, and not vice : and as there are but few notoriously wicked men in comparison with a shoal of fools and fops, so it is a harder thing to make a man wise than to make him honest : for the will only is to be reclaimed in the one, but the understanding is to be informed in the other." Horace, again, does not attack particular vices, but laughs to shame all follies, and insinuates virtue rather by familiar examples than by the severity of precepts. He had the disadvantage of the times in which he lived ; they were better for the man, but worse for the satirist.

Horace's wit is faint, and his salt almost insipid. Juvenal is of a more vigorous and masculine wit. "He fully satisfies my expectation : he treats his subject home : his spleen is raised and he raises mine." Horace is always on the amble, Juvenal on the gallop. This famous criticism will be referred to again in the chapter on Juvenal : it is the utterance of a poet upon poets, of a satirist upon satirists : and it puts Horace's strength and his weakness in a clear light.

In Alexander Pope (1688 to 1744) the spirit of Horace the satirist has come to life again. Like Horace, Pope had the art of expressing commonplace philosophy in such perfection of phrase as to make it appear original. This is shown in his *Moral Essays* and *Epistle to Arbuthnot* (1735), also in his *Imitations of Horace* (1733 to 1737) which contain some of Pope's best work. He adapts Horace to his own

Authors of Rome

needs, but adds fresh vigour and point. Reference has been made to Pope's immediate model as a critic and satirist, Nicolas Boileau, who set up the Latin writers of the Augustan age, Horace and Virgil, as the perfect models of style : much of his own work is closely modelled on Horace. The form of Pope is imitated by Byron in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (1809), a reply to a criticism of his early poems. This, with Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, is almost the latest English classical satire in verse. We may perhaps trace the influence of Horace in the satiric novels of Thackeray, whose tone is that of the kindly and tolerant man of the world, who studies life as a humorous observer, and aims the shafts of playful irony rather at folly than at vice.

Our own day affords scope for a satirist : but it probably needs the indignant mood of a Juvenal to arouse its attention. The position which was once occupied in our literature by formal satire is now filled by the drama, the novel, the essay, or the sermon.

The first book of Horace's *Epistles* was published in 20 B.C., and was probably written during the years 24 to 20 : that is, from the forty-first to the forty-fifth year of Horace's life. The second book was published in 13 B.C. ; the *Ars Poetica* (which was printed after the two *Epistles* of this book) was written earlier, and separately.

After finishing the *Odes*, Horace had no strong incentive to write. Love had been but a pastime, not a power with him as with Catullus. The military triumphs of the Empire were not inspiring, but Horace celebrated them when called upon to do so. His

chief interest came to lie in the study of philosophy, and in its application to life : he wished to rid himself of weakness of will, of desires which he could not gratify. The *Epistles* do not differ widely in tone from the *Satires* : there is perhaps less criticism of others, more of a constructive plan. This plan is not to preach at his friends, but to take them into his confidence, to admit his own failings, and to join them in the search for a rule of life. The example of writing letters in verse was set by Lucilius : here also, as in the *Satires*, Horace tries to improve on his predecessor by better workmanship, and to adapt him to the requirements of a more critical age, in the same way as Dryden and Pope modernised Chaucer for English readers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The *Epistles* of the first book range, as easy conversation ranges, from one topic to another : but certain thoughts recur. Horace has given up poetry : he is laying up a stock of wisdom, following no special school, but borne along at random. The pursuit of virtue is worthier than that of money.¹ He reads through Homer again, and finds him a better teacher than all the philosophers. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are full of lessons useful for the conduct of life. No worldly possessions can give health of body or of mind.² A friend is asked to give him news of Tiberius, Augustus' stepson : and receives advice as to literary work.³ Tibullus, the poet, is invited to come and see him.⁴ Torquatus receives an invitation to dinner.⁵ Another friend is advised to adopt a philosophic calm as to the true way of regarding the various

¹ *Epistles* i. 1.

² i. 2.

³ i. 3.

⁴ i. 4.

⁵ i. 5.

Authors of Rome

objects of human desire.¹ Mæcenas (in one of the best of the *Epistles*) is thanked, in a manly and unaffected way, for his generosity: a story is told which shows how ill-suited gifts often bring ruin to the recipient.² A letter of introduction is written to Tiberius, recommending a friend: "a little masterpiece which shows how Horace has become the friend of the world."³ Vinius is asked to hand to Augustus a volume of Horace's poems (the *Odes*):⁴ but is to be careful to choose the right moment. Other letters describe the pleasures of the country,⁵ or the dangers and vexations of life at court,⁶ or indicate Horace's contempt of his imitators and of his critics.⁷ The last letter is a humorous address to his book on its publication: it is treated as a young slave eager to escape from its master's house. This letter contains the description of Horace's person and character, which has been already quoted.⁸

The two letters which compose the second book of the *Epistles* are a farewell to literature, with a review of its position and prospects, and a declaration of his own preference for those who have taken the Greeks as their model. The first of these letters is addressed to Augustus.

The *Epistle to the Pisos*, more widely known as the *Ars Poetica* ("Art of Poetry") was probably compiled from Greek sources. It is a treatise on the rules of dramatic art, including tragedy and comedy. The absence of order in the arrangement of its topics is supposed to be due to the unskilfulness of those who published, after Horace's death, the draft of a poem

¹ i. 6.

² i. 7.

³ i. 9.

⁴ i. 13.

⁵ i. 14, 16.

⁶ i. 18.

⁷ i. 19.

⁸ i. 20.

which he had not revised. As it stands, it was probably written about 20 B.C. Though other kinds of poetry are mentioned, the section on the drama is the longest and the most important. Several of his contemporaries had devoted themselves to the writing of tragedy: it is plain that after the success of the *Æneid* in the field of epic it was expected that a Roman Sophocles would arise to contest the laurel with the Greek tragedian. The *Ars Poetica*, like the rest of Horace's literary criticisms, is based upon the principle that a poet, if he is to produce work that will live, must be sincere, independent of uneducated public opinion, and unwearied in his study of the best models, and his pursuit of form.

In the reform of the French theatre towards the end of the sixteenth century, the rules of the drama were taken from the ancients, especially from Aristotle's *Poetics* and Horace's *Epistle to the Pisos*. The guiding principle was the return to probability, to nature, from the unreality of the moralities and farces of the Middle Age. The same principle was taken up later by Boileau, and forms the central idea of his *Art Poétique* (1674), but Boileau deals with various styles—idyll, elegy, ode, epic¹—which find no place in Horace.

¹ A section of about 20 lines in the *Ars Poetica* is by some supposed to deal with the writing of epic poetry: but is more probably on the dramatisation of the subject of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Authors of Rome

TRANSLATIONS :—

Odes : verse, Gladstone (1894) ; Martin (1860).

Occasional translations in Calverley's *Verse Translations* (Bell), 1913.

Odes, Satires, Epistles : prose, Wickham (1903).

Odes, Satires, Epistles : verse, Conington (1904).

Other works :—

Sellar : *Horace and the Elegiac Poets* : (Oxford, Clarendon Press) 2nd edition : 1899.

Horacc. Odes. (i. 5 : translated by Milton.)

What slender youth, bedewed with liquid odours,
Courts thee on roses, in some pleasant cave,
Pyrrha ? For whom bind'st thou

In wreaths thy golden hair,
Plain in thy neatness ? Oh, how oft shall he
On faith and changèd gods complain, and seas
Rough with black winds, and storms

Unwonted shall admire,
Who now enjoys thee credulous, all gold,
Who always vacant, always admirable,
Hopes thee, of flattering gales

Unmindful ! Hapless they
To whom thou untried seem'st fair. Me in my vowed
Picture, the sacred wall declares to have hung
My dank and dripping weeds
To the stern God of Sea.

Odes. (i. 22.)

He that is pure in life and free from guile needs not the
bow and arrows of the Moor, my Fuscus, nor a quiver
stored with poisoned darts, whether his way must lie across
the storm-vexed Syrtes or inhospitable Caucasus, or
the shores which Hydaspes, famed in legend, laves. For
verily, while heedless I roamed among the Sabine woods
beyond the beaten track, hymning my Lalage, a wolf fled
me, though all unarmed. A monster dread was he :
warlike Daunia in the depths of her oak woods harbours
none so terrible, nor the land of Juba, barren foster-
mother of the lion's brood. Ah, set me where upon the
frozen plains no tree is e'er caressed by summer breeze,
those distant lands that labour sore beneath the curse
of fog and sullen skies. Set me in those far climes where
none may dwell beneath the too close chariot of the sun.
Still will I love the dulcet laugh, the dulcet speech of
Lalage.

Authors of Rome

Odes. (ii. 3.)

See that you keep a steadfast mind when life is hard, and curb your overweening joy when times are good, my Dellius, since you must die, whether in sorrow all your times are spent, or whether through long leisured days in some well-hidden grassy nook you lie, cheering your soul the while with a sealed jar, brought from some deep-stored bin of wine Falernian. Wherefore do the mighty pine and the silvery poplar blend inviting shade with branches intertwined? Why does the bustling brook between its sloping banks run rippling on? Bid them bring hither wines, and essences, and the all-too-short-lived blossoms of the lovely rose, so long as wealth and youth and the Dark Sisters with their dusky web will suffer thee. Yet go you must, though woods and mansion and a country cottage whose lawns are washed by yellow Tiber's stream are yours by purchase. Go you must, and all your riches heaped on high your heir will then possess. Whether great wealth is yours, and a family tree that springs from ancient Inachus, it matters naught, or whether poor and base-born underneath the sky you lodge, victim alike of Death who pities none. We all are driven to the self-same goal. For all, soon or late, from the shaken urn must leap the lot which will set us upon the bark bound for eternal exile.

Odes. (iii. 9.) Horace and Lydia.

H. While I found favour in thine eyes, and no youth had a better right to place his arms around that neck, I dwelt in happiness far greater than the King of Persia.

L. While thy passion burned for none beside, and Lydia was not less to thee than Chloe, Lydia's name bloomed far more fair than that of Roman Ilia.

H. My queen is now the Thracian Chloe, cunning to make sweet melody, and skilled in the cithara's touch. For her I would not fear to die, if fate would spare my love and let her live.

L. I burn for Calaïs, who returns my flame, the son

of Thurian Ornytus. Gladly would I bear death twice, if the fates would spare this youth and let him live.

H. Come, if our former love returned once more, forcing us twain beneath his brazen yoke, if gold-haired Chloe's spell were shaken off, and my heart's door set wide to slighted Lydia ?

L. Then, though he be fairer than the stars, and thou more light upon the weights than cork, and crueller than Hadria's tempestuous sea, yet would I love to live with thee, with thee would gladly die.

Odes. (iii. 29, 41-48 : translated by Dryden.)

Happy the man, and happy he alone

He who can call to-day his own.

He who, secure within, can say

To-morrow do thy worst, for I have lived to-day.

Be fair or foul, or rain, or shine,

The joys I have possessed, in spite of fate, are mine.

Not heaven itself upon the past has power,

But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour.

Horace's debt to his father. (*Satires* : i. 6, 65.)

If my nature, otherwise correct, is disfigured by only a few trifling faults, as you might criticise some spots upon a handsome body, if no one can justly taunt me with avarice or meanness or debauchery, if I live clean and guiltless (to give myself this praise), and beloved by my friends, my father deserves the credit, for though he was poor, and had but a small and meagre farm, he refused to send me to the school of Flavius, to which tall urchins, the sons of tall centurions, used to go, their slate and satehel hanging on their left arm, paying the fee on eight months of the year. He ventured to take his son to Rome, to have him taught the arts which any knight or senator teaches to *his* sons. If anyone had seen my dress, and the slaves who attended me, as befits a great city, he would have thought that such expense was borne from an estate two generations old. Himself the purest of guardians, he attended me to all my lessons. In short,

Authors of Rome

he kept me chaste, which is virtue's earliest crown, free not only from every act but from every breath of shame. And he was not afraid that he would be reproached for this some day if I became an auctioneer, or (as he was himself) a tax-collector earning a small wage, and had this been so I would not have murmured. For this reason I owe him now all the more gratitude and praise. While in my senses, I can never regret having had such a father, and so I will not defend myself as many do, who say that it is not their fault that their parents were not free-born and famous.

The Country Mouse and the City Mouse. (Satires : ii. 6, 78.)

If anyone is unwise enough to praise Arellius' anxious wealth, my friend thus begins. "Once upon a time a country mouse received in his poor cell a city mouse, an old host entertaining his old friend. The host lived plainly, and had a close eye to gain : but he could also unlock his heart in hospitality. In short, he spared not the hoarded pea, or the long grain of oats ; in his mouth he brought dry raisin-stones or nibbled seraps of bacon, and gave them, hoping by various dainties to overcome the delicacy of his guest who with nice tooth scarce touched them one by one : while the owner of the mansion lay stretched upon fresh straw, eating darnel and spelt, and leaving the better portion of the feast. At length the city mouse cries "Friend, what pleasure can you have in living a life of endurance upon the edge of this steep hill : why not choose men, and the town, rather than these wild woods ? Take my word, come along with me : for all who live on earth have mortal lives, and neither great nor small can escape death. Wherefore, good sir, take your pleasure while you may, and live happy. Live, and remember how short is your span of life." When these words had convinced the rustic, forth from his house he lightly bounds, and both proceed upon their destined journey, anxious to enter the city's walls at night. And now night was holding the centre of the sky, when they both set

foot within a rich mansion, where coverlets dyed in crimson hues glowed upon the couches of ivory: and many meats, left over from a great feast of the day before, lay hard by in baskets piled in a heap. So when the host had placed his country friend at his ease upon a purple coverlet, like a busy waiter he bustles about bringing course after course, and plays to the life the part of a home-bred slave, licking each dish before he serves it. His guest lay there, rejoicing in his altered fortune, and with the good fare he assumes the air of a genial diner, when suddenly a loud banging at the door tumbled them both off the couch. Terrified, they ran round the room; and were in still greater panic, frightened out of their wits, when the tall house echoed with the barking of mastiffs. Then says the rustic, "I have no need of a life like this: good-bye: my wood, and my hole, safe from alarm, will console me with the slender vetch."¹

A letter of introduction, addressed to Tiberius Claudius Nero, afterwards the Emperor Tiberius. (Epistles: i. 9.)

Septimius no doubt understands, as no one else does, Claudius, how you value me: for when he begs me, and by his prayers forces me, to praise him and introduce him to you, as worthy of the mind and the home of Nero who chooses only that which is honourable, when he supposes me to fill the rôle of a closer friend, he sees and knows what I can do better than I do myself. I urged many reasons why I should get off, and be excused: but I feared lest I should be thought to rate my powers too low, dissimulating my own influence, and friendly to myself alone. So fearing the reproach of a worse fault, I have stooped down to win the prize of town-bred assurance. If you can praise me for waiving modesty at my friend's request, enrol him as one of your band, and believe him to be staunch and true.

¹ La Fontaine (1631 to 1697) in his *Fables* has the same undercurrent of sly good-humoured satire, in which animals are made the vehicle of worldly wisdom.

PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO (OVID) was born in 43 B.C., at Sulmo in the Pelignian district of Italy (the modern Abruzzi). His family was of equestrian rank. At his father's wish he studied law. He also visited Athens (a "University" town), Asia Minor, and Sicily. At the age of twenty he entered on a public career, and held some unimportant offices: but he soon gave up this career, to the displeasure of his relatives, and devoted himself to poetry.¹ His friends at this time included Horace and Propertius. He had only just seen Virgil. He was rich, and contented: "Olden times may please other people. I am glad I was born when I was. This is the age that suits me best." The work of this early period comprises poems on love: the *Amores*, in three books, poems of sentiment; the *Heroides*, imaginary letters from women of the heroic or legendary age to their husbands or lovers; and the *Ars Amatoria*, or "Art of Love," in three books, teaching men how to win the love of maidens, and (in the third book) maidens how to win the love of men. There was also a poem in one book, called *Remedia Amoris*, "Cure of Love," which sought humorously to undo the work of the "Art of Love." To the same period belongs a tragedy, the *Medea*, which has been lost.

The next stage, which dates at or about the beginning of the Christian era, is marked by a great advance in power of description. To it belong a work in Elegiacs, the *Fasti*, a poetical account of the Roman Calendar: and Ovid's most important work, the

¹ See page 219,

Metamorphoses, in hexameters, an account of the transformations which appear in Greek, Trojan, and Italian legends. The first transformation is the creation of the world: the last is the change of Julius Cæsar into a star. This work was completed, but not finally published, when a crushing blow fell on Ovid. He lost the favour of Augustus, and was banished, in A.D. 8, to Tomis, a town on the west coast of the Black Sea, south of the Danube (in modern Roumania). What his offence was is uncertain. Ovid himself says that, apart from annoyance caused by his poems on love to an Emperor who had headed a moral and religious revival, it was "error, and not crime." He refers to something that he has seen, but he cannot speak more clearly lest he should wound Augustus afresh.

It is probable that Ovid was mixed up with some intrigue which affected the honour of Augustus, perhaps through his dissolute daughter Julia. But the nature of Ovid's connection with this is mere surmise. He left the ease, the luxury, and cultured society of Rome, and went to a remote part of the Empire, a place with a rigorous climate and illiterate population, constantly exposed to invasion by barbarous tribes. Here he remained till the end of his life, nine years later, in A.D. 17. Appeals to Augustus (who died A.D. 14) had been in vain, and none apparently was made to Tiberius, his successor. Ovid's residence at Tomis marks the third period of his work, during which he wrote the *Tristia*, elegies, in five books: and *Epistles from Pontus*, in four books. Both these books contain a number of letters in verse, written to friends at Rome, and filled with

Authors of Rome

lamentations over vanished happiness, with protestations of innocence, and flattery of the Emperor.

The *Amores*, or "Poems of Love," obtained early fame: lines from them are found on the walls of the buried city of Pompeii, which was destroyed by lava from Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The date of this work is uncertain, but it was before the "Art of Love," and therefore before 2 B.C. The sentiment of the *Amores* is pretty; they are in the style of Tibullus, but with greater mastery of the elegiac verse, and more ingenuity, but less sincerity. Thus Ovid has a poem on the sentiments which accompany the present of a ring. He wishes that a gift in which there is nothing to prize but the love of the giver may be accepted. He hopes that the ring may fit as well as he and she fit each other. Then he longs for the art which would change him into his gift. He would fain be the ring touching her body, to be pressed to her lips when she had letters to seal, for fear the gem should be dry, and pull the wax with it. And so he speeds his little gift on the way, wishing that his mistress may feel that he has given his faith with the ring.

Or, the lover is on his way to his mistress, and is stopped by a river in flood: he tells the river to flow between its banks. Lovers have a special title to the protection of rivers, as many river-gods have been in love. But as the river, instead of going down, has swollen, he abuses it for a good-for-nothing torrent, which deserves his parting curse, that the sun may pass over it quickly and smite it, and winter always leave it dry. There are descriptions of rural scenery, like those in Tibullus: his birth-place, Sulmo, is described with affectionate detail. The most beautiful

of the poems in the *Amores* is the elegy on the death of Tibullus, the ninth of the third book ; but this also seems to be a pure work of fancy, for Ovid himself tells us that he was not personally acquainted with this poet, who died 19 B.C., when Ovid was twenty-four. The names of both are linked together in a well-known criticism. "In elegy also," writes Quintilian, "we contest the supremacy of Greece. Its most finished and tasteful writer seems to me Tibullus, though some prefer Propertius. Ovid is more licentious, Gallus harsher than either." The "licentiousness" of Ovid is partly in morals, partly in style. The word *lascivus* in Latin means "uncontrolled," "unrestrained," and applies as well to form as to substance.

The *Heroides* treats of unhappy love. There are twenty-one letters (of which fourteen at least are genuine) supposed to be written by women of the legendary past in sorrow for the absence of the hero to whom they are addressed. Their circumstances are not all alike. Some of the women, such as Penelope and Laodamia, have suffered no wrong from the man : but Ariadne, Ænone, Deianira, Dido have reason to complain of their betrayers. Much knowledge of feminine nature is shown by Ovid in his treatment of these "heroic" characters : in fact they are just tender and passionate women of Ovid's own, or of any age. His early training in rhetoric and declamation is constantly exhibited, and his skill in this respect makes the characters more dramatic. He has drawn on Greek resources to a considerable extent : the letters are written by Penelope to Ulysses (from Homer's *Odyssey*) ; Phyllis, queen of Thrace, to

Authors of Rome

Demophoon son of Theseus; Briseis to Achilles (from the *Iliad*); Phædra, wife of Theseus, to Hippolytus (from Euripides); CEnone, the river nymph, to Paris; Hypsipyle to Jason (leader of the Argonauts); Dido to Æneas (from Virgil); Hermione, daughter of Helen, to Orestes; Deianira to Hercules (from Sophocles); Ariadne to Theseus (from Catullus); Medea to Jason (from Euripides); Laodamia to Protesilaus; Hypermnestra to her cousin Lynceus (from Horace).

These Epistles, which deal with well-known stories, were much read in the Middle Ages. The treatment is realistic : every means is employed of awaking old affection. Thus Medea writes to Jason, soon after his marriage to the king's daughter at Corinth, reproaching him with her services and sacrifices for him. She reminds him that he was once in her power, and that she pitied and saved him; and finally she hints at the fearful vengeance she will take upon their children. Ovid's own tragedy *Medea* is lost, the play on which Quintilian made the criticism that it proved what that great man could have achieved if he had chosen to set bounds to his talent rather than to indulge it.

The "Art of Love," which appeared in 2 B.C., does not deserve all the harsh things which have been written about it, though its tone is unmistakably coarse : more so than in the *Amores*, much more than in the *Heroides*. It teaches the art of "gallantry," such as was practised in our own eighteenth century at Bath : the art of pleasing. The objects for which this effort to please is made are various, and cold-blooded seduction is by no means the only one. Ovid should be read in the same spirit in which he wrote : he was gay, elegant, a society butterfly.

It would be unprofitable to give details of the process of "pleasing." But nothing can make us ignore the skill of the versification, the neatness of the performance, the good humour and high spirits of much of the poem. It has the freshness of the open air. For example, Cæsar's pageant, with a sham sea fight, has brought all Italy together : and Cæsar will soon celebrate a triumph over the Parthians, and joyous lads and lasses will have a show to see, and much to talk about. There will be a procession of conquered generals, with chains on their necks to prevent them from running away : and when his mistress asks the names of the countries and mountains whose emblems are carried past, the lover will do well to have an answer ready. He should tell all he knows or all he can guess : the blue hairs of the river god must be for the Tigris, the crown of pale green reeds will be the sign of the Euphrates. It is like a scene in Old London : apprentices and their sweethearts looking on at the Lord Mayor's Show : with homeliness such as that of Cowper's *John Gilpin*. The poem contains one beautifully told story—that of Procris, who suspected the fidelity of her lover Cephalus, and was accidentally killed by him at the moment when she discovered that her fears were without cause.

The "Cure of Love" contains an answer to critics who proclaimed that the "Art of Love" was an immoral work. The advice given to those in love, showing how to be rid of it, by silence, by burning love letters, and so forth, reverses the process of the "Art of Love." Ovid makes the amusing point that if his "heroines" had known of his advice, they would not have suffered so cruelly. Dido would

Authors of Rome

not have missed Æneas : and the Trojan war (over Helen) would never have been fought, for even if Helen had been captivated by Paris, Menelaus would not have striven to win her back.

But it is with satisfaction that we leave the subject of love, as handled in these poems.¹ Their ingenuity and grace cannot make us insensible to their heartlessness, and to their laxity of tone, far removed from that of Virgil, and of Livy, who dwelt in thought among the strong and manly characters of the past.

Ovid himself probably felt a sense of relief as he turned to work on his "publicum carmen" or "national poem," the *Fasti*, or "Calendar." It was begun later than 8 B.C., for it alludes to an event of that year. It is a poetical "year book" or "Companion to the Almanac," and was composed to illustrate the Calendar published by Julius Cæsar, who, in the year 46 B.C., remodelled the Roman year, adapting it to the sun's course. In Ovid's poem the more remarkable days are examined in succession, those which are *fasti* (proper for the transacting of legal business) being distinguished from those which were *nefasti* (not lawful for this purpose) : the origin of the different festivals is explained, the various ceremonies are described, the legends connected with the principal constellations are narrated, and many curious discussions are interwoven on subjects of interest to Romans : the whole is seasoned with frequent allusions to the glories of the Julian line. The work is incomplete, and deals with the first six months of the year.

¹ See introduction to *The Lover's Handbook* (Broadway Translations) by F. A. Wright : Routledge, 1923.

Ovid has not the seriousness or reverence needed for dealing with the theme of Rome's religion, Rome's history, Rome's civil institutions. But he tells stories from history or legend, and tells them charmingly: and we owe to him many a touch of the simple piety of country folk.

A certain frivolity appears at the outset; on January 1st, the god Janus appears with New Year's wishes for the Imperial household. He is "interviewed" by Ovid, and graciously explains his office, as the opener of all that is, and his double head (on coins) which is a symbol of the door (*janua*) which looks outwards and inwards at the same time. On 9th January, the "Agonalia" is described, and the story of Aristæus and his bees is told: on January 11th, the story of Hercules and Cacus. Among the most famous of the stories from Roman history is that of Lucretia (in the second book), which was followed by Shakespeare in his *Rape of Lucrece*.

Scholars who have investigated Italian religion in recent years complain that as a source of knowledge Ovid's *Fasti* is too much of a medley to be used without careful criticism. When the poet describes some bit of ritual which he has himself seen, or tells some Italian story he has himself heard, he is invaluable; but as a substitute for the work of Varro on which he drew, he only increases our thirst for the original. The *Fasti*, moreover, contains a large proportion of Greek myth, taken from the Alexandrine poets whom he was following, especially from Callimachus. These Greek stories cannot always be distinguished from the fragments of genuine Italian legend: and the confusion is worse as the titles and

Authors of Rome

attributes of the Greek gods were now "at home" on Italian soil. But if Ovid is not always helpful to the archæologist, he deserves praise for investing old and mysterious ceremonies with fresh interest and meaning, and enabling us to see what a large proportion of all that we daily see and use is Roman.¹

We now come to the greatest of Ovid's works, that which was most popular in his own time, and has exercised the widest influence on later poets—the *Metamorphoses*. It was written before his banishment, but not corrected. In his despair at his exile, he burnt it (as Virgil had desired the *Æneid* to be burnt), but copies had been taken by others. The material for this study of transformations, as seen through the ages, was chiefly Greek. Besides Homer and the Greek Tragedians (especially the *Bacchæ*, *Hecuba*, *Medea* of Euripides), he had others nearer his time. But his treatment is independent. He has told the stories with wonderful skill, and has given coherence and verity to a number of legends whose only common point was that they all bore on a change or transformation, such as that of Procne into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale. The ingenuity displayed is stupendous. The stories are dovetailed into one another so that the work reads as a whole, and not a succession of incidents. In sustained vivacity and in fertility of invention, the only Roman writer who can be compared to Ovid is Cicero.

"Too fond of his own wit"; "he could never let well alone": such are some ancient criticisms of his

¹ We wear mourning, we sprinkle dust on the coffins of our friends, we use bride-cake at weddings, we give gifts and add good wishes on New Year's Day. Our May-day revels and our beating of the bounds are Roman.

work. Thus in a description of the universal deluge, when he wrote "wolf swims midst sheep, the waves bear tawny lions," it was remarked (by Seneca) that "it is barely decent to indulge one's wit when the world is being swallowed up." It is a romantic love of detail running riot. When Phæthon is hurried through the sky by the horses of his father the sun-god, which he aspired to drive but cannot control, the names of the cities and nations that are perishing with the heat, of the mountains and rivers that are burnt up, are recounted in a long catalogue. But the names are effective, at any rate in sound; they diversify the scene, and make it picturesque. They are like the flowers that stud the fields in the foreground of some early Florentine painting. Only a very severe upholder of classical style could wish them absent. Names of places had a fascination for Ovid, as they had for Lucan, and for Milton. Ovid lingers over the names of the places past which Arethusa sped in her flight from Alpheus, and of the mountains and rivers visited by Medea in her winged chariot. It is part of the romantic side of Ovid: he wrote best when he could give free scope to his imagination. Another fault, for which in so long a work some defence can be urged, is a playful humour: sometimes even puns occur. Cicero puns, Shakespeare puns; Charles Lamb tells us that the worst puns are the best. Ovid has been rebuked for making Deucalion and Pyrrha, the sole survivors of the deluge, say "We two now make a crowd." The poet should endeavour to raise pity, but "instead of this Ovid is tickling you with a laugh."

These means of sustaining the reader's interest

Authors of Rome

are justified by the result. A definite purpose underlies this frivolity. For from the first transformation which brings cosmos, or order, out of chaos, to the last, which changes to a star the soul of Julius Cæsar, the whole series of legends is so closely connected as to present a continuous history of the world. In the last three books, this history passes from Greece to Troy, the ancestress of Rome, and so to Rome herself: and all creation has its perfection in the reign of Augustus.

As the *Metamorphoses* is an encyclopædia of legend containing—it has been reckoned—some 250 stories,¹ it is almost impossible to give an abstract of it. We may take as a specimen the thirteenth book. In the contest for the arms of Achilles, Ajax makes his speech before the Grecian princes. He puts them in memory how he saved the ships, while Ulysses, his rival, feigned madness to escape the field. The great speech of Ulysses follows. “Who can succeed Achilles? But as I brought him to Troy, and have rendered many other services in council and in battle, the arms are mine.” The prize is given to Ulysses²: Ajax in frenzy slays himself, and from his blood springs the hyacinth. Hecuba’s fate is to be changed into a dog. From the ashes of the pyre of Memnon are produced countless birds. Galatea, who loved Acis, is herself loved by the Cyclops Polyphemus. He sings her beauty: she is fairer than white privet, yet more treacherous than the waves: image upon image is accumulated with

¹ Among the best are: *Echo and Narcissus*, *Baucis and Philemon*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Galatea and Polyphemus*.

² *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* by the dramatist Shirley (1596 to 1666) as based upon Ovid.

which to compare her beauty, for "a giant's store of similitudes must be gigantic." Acis is crushed to death by a rock : his blood becomes a river of water, and himself the god of the river.

"A poet only of the second rank, but in that rank he is not only eminent but unique." His chief work was that of transmitting to later ages the world of Greek and Roman mythology. The influence of the *Metamorphoses* alone upon poets, and poets of the first rank, has been deep and constant. If Virgil turned his gaze backward to history to find stern figures of duty, Ovid turned his to that mythology of the Greeks in which he habitually moved : a wonder-land created by warm fancy, a world of romantic love and adventure, peopled with beings young and strong and beautiful.

This was the secret of Ovid's influence at the Renaissance, which drew its inspiration from the qualities prominent in youth. In each of the countries of Western Europe, as the wave of the Renaissance reached them, in Italy, France, England, the name and work of Ovid rose to prominence. In an age when sense was more esteemed than spirit, he became the friend of poets and of painters. Flemish, Italian (the Venetian school especially), French artists took their subjects from the *Metamorphoses* ; Boccaccio (1313 to 1375) drew from his store of legend ; Dante (1265 to 1321) puts him into the company of Homer, Horace, and Lucan, "the goodly school of those lords of highest song," who advance to greet Dante and Virgil in the first circle of the Inferno. The Italian epic poets, Ariosto and Tasso, are saturated with Ovid's language and sentiment,

Authors of Rome

Chaucer followed on Boccaccio : and the influence of Ovid is apparent in poems published before the *Canterbury Tales* (such as the *House of Fame*, which has pairs of lovers from the *Heroides*) and in the *Tales* themselves : *Knight's Tale*, *Monk's Tale*, *Manciple's Tale* (of the crow which was once white). Spenser's *Færie Queene* recalls Ovid, not only by many references but by the gift of narrative and invention, the love of beauty of human beings and of nature. It is to be noted that in Ovid (as in Spenser) we meet a number of allegorical characters, such as Envy, Rumour, Sleep ; the description of the cave of Sleep is copied by Spenser in the first canto of his poem. Among the Elizabethan dramatists, Shakespeare, the most romantic of them, has most frequent references to Ovid. The description of the boar in *Venus and Adonis* has been traced to the *Metamorphoses*. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe in *Midsummer's Night Dream* is from the same source. And "the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey tongued Shakespeare : witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugared sonnets among his private friends."

The works of Ovid's exile are inferior to his earlier works. "Ovid left his genius behind in Rome." At first he tried to console himself by the reflection that he had not been "banished" : that he retained all his rights as a Roman citizen. He kept up those friendships that might be of use to him. He drew comfort from the fact that Augustus had not refused to pardon him. To write about his troubles gave him some relief, as it had done to Cicero in his exile. Ovid made new friends at Tomis, and was held in

honour as the poet of Rome. He completed the six books of the *Fasti*, and wrote the *Tristia*, or “Songs of Sadness,” during the first four years after leaving Rome. The *Tristia* are mostly lamentations over lost happiness, addressed to his wife, the Emperor, his friends, or his readers in general. A few are worthy of Ovid in his early days: these include the letter to Perilla in the third book, and that on the growth of a poet¹ in the fourth book.

Perilla was a young poetess, in whom Ovid took a fatherly interest. She would read her verses to him for his kindly criticism; when she had been indolent, she would blush at his reproof. His letter will find her either in her mother’s company or among her books. But whatever she is doing, when she hears that there is a letter from Ovid, she will start up, and run to get news of her friend. “Tell me, do you remain constant to the studies which we both loved, as we turned the verses of Greek poets into our Roman speech. Nature has given you an innocent heart, and rare gifts. I was the first to lead you to the Muse’s spring. But I fear that my ill-fate may check your fancy’s course. As my books have ruined me, perhaps you have resolved to write no more. But do not be afraid. If no woman learns love’s lesson from your page, or is led to wander from the path of virtue, return to the poet’s priestly task. And I—though I am torn from country and from home, though I have lost all that any man could lose, I have my poetry to comfort me. Even Cæsar has no power over that, and can have none.”

As time went on, Ovid’s hopes faded, and his

¹ See page 219.

Authors of Rome

powers decreased. The *Epistles from Pontus*, which are his last work, differ from the *Tristia* outwardly in being addressed to particular friends in Rome, whom he names : inwardly, in a growing despondency, and carelessness of style. They are a cry "De Profundis" ("from the depths") such as another and a later man of genius uttered, some twenty years ago, as, ruined and abandoned by his friends, he surveyed a happy past gone beyond recall.

Ovid stands at the end of the Augustan age, which is so well known to us by its poetry. Virgil is an idealist who evokes the heroic past in order to provide a loftier conception of duty in the men of his day. Horace is an idealist in his patriotic odes, but more usually a realist, who describes to us the ordinary life of his times from many points of view, social, moral, literary. Ovid is a realist : he reflects the influence of the new court, which in spite of the wishes of Augustus was marked by the love of wealth and the pursuit of pleasure.

In vivacity and fertility of imagination Ovid is not surpassed by any poet : Ariosto and Spenser have come near to him in the modern world : but in the art of story telling, and in felicity of style, which seems spontaneous but was founded on long and constant experiment, Ovid is still a model to all objective poets. In the nineteenth century, Kingsley, Swinburne, William Morris have imitated him. But his outlook on life, and his manner, are both more in keeping with the first part of the eighteenth century,¹

¹ Since 1717 (when a translation of *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* by Dryden, Congreve, Addison and others was published) there have been few translations of Ovid : many of Horace and Virgil.

our Augustan age of poetry, and especially reminds us of Pope. There is neither serious conviction nor depth of purpose : and the verse is exquisitely chased according to fixed rules. The elegiac couplet confines the sense within a narrow compass, as the heroic rhyming couplet does, and encourages precision and finish rather than breadth or originality.

In our Public Schools the art of verse writing has long been taught through imitation of Ovid, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The habit of translating English poetry into Latin fostered literary composition in general : and if few attained great excellence, many reached a respectable standard, and learnt a great deal about the English poets in the process. This custom is less frequently followed to-day : in so far as it still exists, it is a proof of the continued and persistent influence of Ovid. Original Latin verse is also becoming rare ; but this has also had its great exponents, and even when, as in the case of John Milton, the general effect is less Ovidian than Miltonic, the rules as fixed by Ovid are regularly observed.

TRANSLATIONS :

Prose, *Amores, Heroides* : Loeb Library, 1914.

Verse, *Art of Love* : Dryden and others, 1709 :

F. A. Wright (Broadway translations), 1923 :
with useful introduction.

Verse, *Metamorphoses*, Golding, 1567 ; Sandys, 1626 ; Dryden and others, 1717.

Other works :—

Sellar : *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*. S. G. Owen
in *English Literature and the Classics*.

Authors of Rome

Elegy on the death of Tibullus. (Amores : iii. 9 abbreviated.)

If a mother¹ wept for Memnon, a mother² for Achilles, if great goddesses are touched by the sadness of the tomb, Come, tearful Muse, Muse of the dirge, loosen thy tresses for a loss unmerited. Now shall thy name be all too fittingly employed.³ Thine high priest, thy pride, Tibullus, lies burning on the tall pyre : a body from which life has fled. Behold, Cupid bears his bow broken, his quiver reversed, his torch extinguished. Watch how piteously he goes, with drooping wings, beating with angry hand his bosom bare : his falling tears are caught by the locks that stream upon his neck, convulsive sobs are heard to come from his lips. Yet we poets are called sacred, beloved by the gods : some even think that we are divine. Upon all things sacred, Death the relentless lays a profaning hand, that clutches in the dark. But if something more survives of us than a name and a shadow, Tibullus will live in the valleys of Elysium. Come forth to welcome him, lettered Catullus, thy youthful brow entwined with ivy : and with thee bring Calvus. Thou also, Gallus, who didst freely shed thy lifeblood, come, if the charge that thou hast wronged thy friend⁴ is false. With these the poet's shade, all that is left, yet lives : exquisite Tibullus, thou art gone to join the company of the good. May thy bones rest at peace in their protecting urn, and upon thine ashes may the earth be light.

The Death of Phæthon. (Metamorphoses : ii. 298.)

“ If sea and land and the palaces of the sky are destroyed, we are resolved into primeval chaos : rescue from the flames what still is left, bestow a thought upon the universe.” Thus spake Earth ; she could no longer bear the

¹ Aurora, goddess of the dawn. ² Thetis, the sea-nymph.

³ Ovid alludes to the derivation of *Elegos* (the Greek for dirge) from two words meaning “ to say alas ! ”

⁴ The Emperor Augustus. Gallus was accused of slandering him, and committed suicide (“ shed his lifeblood ”).

heat, she could say no more : she withdrew within herself, to caverns closer to the world of shades.

But the Almighty Father called to witness the gods, and him who gave the chariot, that, if he will not aid them, all things will pass away by this heavy doom. He goes up to the highest point of his citadel, from which he brings the clouds over the broad lands beneath : from which he sets in motion the thunders, brandishes and hurls his lightnings. But he had now no clouds to spread upon the earth : no rain to send down from the sky. He thunders : then poises the bolt, and from his right ear hurled it full at the charioteer : robbed him at one blow of the chariot and of life : with fiercer fires he overcame those fires. The horses in panic fear leap this way and that : free their necks from the yoke : and leave the sundered reins behind. Here lies the bit : there the axle torn from the pole : yonder, the spokes of the broken wheels. The chariot is in pieces : traces of it are scattered far and wide. But Phæthon, his ruddy locks all ravaged by the flame, is sent rolling headlong, through the vast spaces of the upper air : as sometimes on a clear night a star is thought to have fallen, though it fell not. Him far away from his fatherland, in a distant world, that mighty river Eridanus caught : and washed from his face the stain of fire. Italian nymphs placed in the tomb those limbs upon which the thunderbolt had passed : and carved this inscription upon the stone : " Here lies Phæthon, who tried to drive the chariot of the Sun : and though he could not control it, great was the enterprise in which he failed."

The Rape of Proserpine. (Fasti : iv. 419.)

The land of Sicily juts into the sea : from its shape, its three tall cliffs, it bears the name of Trinacris. Ceres has here her favoured home : many are the cities held by her, and one of them is Henna, fruitful and fair. Arethusa in her cool grot had invited the mothers of the gods : and Ceres, the golden-haired, had come to partake

Authors of Rome

of the holy feast. Proserpine, her daughter, with her wonted company of maidens, wandered barefoot on her native sward. Beneath a shady valley is a spot wet with the fast-falling spray of a cascade tumbling from above. There shone as many colours as Nature owns: the ground was bright, painted with flowers of divers hues. When Proserpine's eyes rested on it, "Come near, friends," she said: "fill your laps with flowers, even as I am doing." The simple spoil attracts their girlish hearts, and in their busy mood they make light of toil. One fills baskets plaited with pliant osier: another fills her lap, a third makes the loose folds of her dress heavy with them. One picks marigolds, a second loves the beds of violets: another snaps with her finger the flowering poppy. The hyacinth has a friend in one; the amaranth makes others pause; some love thyme, others rosemary, or the melilotus. Many a rose is plucked: there are nameless blooms besides. Proserpine herself gathers the slender crocus, or the pale lily.¹ In her eagerness to gather, she goes on farther and farther, and, as it chanced, none of her companions went with their princess. Pluto saw her: and soon as he saw her he stole her swiftly away, and with chargers dark as the sea he carried her to his own kingdom. She cried "Mother, dearest mother, they bear me away": and rent her robes. Meantime a way for Dis opens before him: for his horses, unaccustomed, can scarce endure the light of day. But the band of her comrades, her handmaidens all laden with blossoms, cry aloud "Persephone, come to the gifts awaiting thee." They cry to her, but she makes no answer: with their lamentations they fill the mountains, and sadly their hands strike their naked breasts.

¹ Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*: Act iv., Scene 3 (Perdita speaks):

"O Proserpina,
For the flowers now that frightened thou let'st fall
From Dis's wagon! daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty. . . ."

Growth of a Poet. (Tristia : iv. 10.)

Sulmo is my country : with its cool gushing fountains, it numbers ninety milestones out from Rome. Here was I born ; if you would know the year, it was when both consuls¹ fell by the same stroke of fate. . . . I was not the eldest : there was a brother born one year before me. . . . We were taught from earliest youth, and, by our father's loving care, were sent to listen to Rome's most learned men. My brother, born for the welfare of the wordy forum, from tender years pressed on to oratory's crown. Even then, in boyhood, I loved the mysteries divine, and secretly the Muse drew me to do her bidding. Often my father said : " Why ply a bootless trade ? Homer himself left nothing to his heirs." His words prevailed. I forsook the Muses' hill, and strove to write in words that would not sear. But poetry of its own accord came to the measures that were its counterpart, and that which I attempted to say became a verse. Meanwhile, years passed on with silent pace, and manhood's robe of freedom was assumed. . . . I loved, I worshipped, the poets of that day, and every singer was to me a god. . . . Horace, lord of rhythm, held me in thrall, singing the songs of Greece on harp of Italy. Virgil I saw—no more : Tibullus, harsh fate denied to my friendship. . . . And as I honoured my forerunners, by younger men was I held in honour : and not slow was my Muse to win renown. . . . Now, though I hear war's alarms on every hand, yet I have poetry to lighten my heavy fate. . . . If I live, and resist my cruel pangs, if I am not yet weary of my days of anguish, the boon, O Muse, is thine : thou givest consolation unto me, thou art the respite from care, the healing balm in sorrow. Guide and Comrade mine, thou dost bear me on thy wings from Ister,² and lo, thou givest to me a place full upon the Muses' hill.

¹ Hirtius and Pansa : 43 B.C.

² The Danube. Tomis was near the mouth of that river.

LIVY

TITUS LIVIUS (LIVY) was born at Patavium (Padua) in the year 59 B.C., during the first consulship of Julius Cæsar. He died at Padua in the year A.D. 16, at the age of 75.

Very little is known of his family, or of the events of his life. It is conjectured that he was of good birth. His sympathies were with the senatorial party in the struggle against Cæsar. He seems to have had a private fortune, which enabled him to devote himself early in life to his task as a historian. He spent a great part of his life at Rome, where he took no share in public affairs, but was admitted to intimacy with Augustus and his family. He mentions a conversation which he had with the Emperor, and we are told that Augustus called him playfully a Pompeian, because in his history he had bestowed high praise on Pompey. Livy thus proved his independence of character, but did not forfeit the esteem of Augustus, whose policy in reviving the old ideals of Rome was furthered by the plan of Livy's history.

A well-known story, told by Pliny, the younger, proves that Livy enjoyed fame in his lifetime. A Spaniard came all the way from Gades (Cadiz) to Rome with the sole purpose of seeing Livy, and returned home as soon as he had seen him.

Other references to Livy in Roman writers are appreciations of his style (by Quintilian), and of his conspicuous fairness and impartiality (by Seneca). He wrote dialogues, partly historical, partly philosophical: and other works definitely philosophical. But his chief work was the *History of Rome*, to which he devoted some forty years of his life.

The *History* was in 142 books, of which 35, or about a quarter, have come down to us : namely 1 to 10, and 21 to 45. We have also summaries of nearly all the books. The reason why so much has disappeared is no doubt the size of the original work, combined with the labour and cost of copying.

The *History* begins with the story of Æneas, who left Troy on its capture by the Greeks, and settled in Italy. It was brought down to the death of Drusus, stepson of Augustus, in 9 B.C. : so that it includes the history of Rome from the foundation of the city, 753 to 9 B.C., a period of 744 years. The early books are in broader outline : as Livy came nearer his own times he goes into greater detail. Thus Book 1 covers the legendary period, and the history of Rome from 753 to 509 B.C. (expulsion of the kings) ; the next nine books extended from 509 to 293 B.C. The second decade (11 to 20) is lost : it extended from 293 to 218 B.C. Books 21 to 30, which are extant, cover the seventeen years of the second Punic war. Books 31 to 45, also extant, cover the 34 years from the end of the second Punic war to the defeat of Macedon in 167 B.C. The remaining books, which are lost, numbered 97, and covered 158 years : an average of two books to three years.

The work is introduced to the reader in a preface, which states the reasons that led Livy to write. He is aware of the large number of histories of Rome : those who would add to that number do so in the hope of outstripping their predecessors either in accuracy or in style. His task—he sees—will be immense, as

Authors of Rome

it involves the history of Rome during seven hundred years : and his readers will naturally hasten from the early history to that of the civil wars, which are nearer to their own time. But his own desire is to escape from the contemplation of those evil days, and from the corruption of the Empire, to the olden days of the republic. Rome of "the brave days of old" seems to him a fitting subject for a historian, because she was the greatest of cities, and displayed the greatest examples both of good and (more recently) of evil. "One of the most salutary and profitable results of the study of history is that you can see examples of every kind of conduct set out as on some conspicuous monument: from these you may choose for yourself, and for the state to which you belong, such as are worthy of imitation: and may mark, so as to avoid them, such as are dishonourable in their origin and in their effects." Rome was not only the greatest city in the world, but the best, the most moral and the most religious. She had endured poverty, and resisted the temptation of luxury, longer than any other.

The purpose of Livy is thus revealed at the outset : he wishes to prove, by examples, that Rome rose to greatness by the virtues of her citizens, above all by courage in adversity.¹ This is shown from the earliest period onwards.

Æneas, ancestor of the family of the Cæsars, leaves Troy in ruins, comes to Italy, unites the Trojans and the Latins. He is succeeded by Ascanius : he in turn

¹ Corneille has a similar purpose in his Roman plays : *Horace* (the period of the kings) ; *Sophonisbe*, *Nicomède*, *Sertorius*, *Pompée* (the republic) ; *Cinna*, *Othon*, *Tite et Bérénice*, *Polyeucte*, *Théodore* (the Empire).

by others, who bear rule in Alba Longa, on the hills south-east of Rome. Rhea Silvia, whose father has been excluded from the succession, gives birth to Romulus and Remus. They are exposed at birth, but are suckled by a she-wolf, and miraculously preserved. They grow to man's estate; and, having triumphed over great difficulties, they found Rome. The view of the early history is that of Virgil: and the motto might be the line from the *Æneid*:—

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem :

“Such a Mighty Enterprise it was to found the race of Rome.”

The history of the kings is then given. Romulus, Numa, Tullus, Ancus, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, all contribute their various energies to build up Rome's power in war, or to furnish her with legal or religious institutions which survived to Livy's own time. Tarquinius Superbus becomes king: he is hated for his cruelty. His son Sextus violates the chastity of Lucretia. Tarquin and his family are expelled: and consuls are chosen. One of the first consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, makes all pledge themselves that no one shall be a king at Rome.¹ This marks the triumph of law over violence, and creates executive officers whose tenure is strictly limited to one year. Henceforth Livy's method is “annalistic”: he describes the events of each year in turn.

War follows: the exiled king is assisted by Porsena,² the Etruscan. After a heroic defence, in which Horatius Cocles plays a leading part, Porsena

¹ Book i., end.

² Book ii. 9: 506 B.C.

Authors of Rome

is driven back. Gaius Marcius,¹ a noble Roman, who has gained for himself the title Coriolanus from a Volscian city which he captured, is engaged in a bitter quarrel with the tribunes of the *plebs*: he is driven into exile, is made general of the Volsci, and leads a Volscian army almost to the walls of Rome, when his mother and his wife persuade him to withdraw. The scene is familiar to us from Shakespeare's play *Coriolanus*: which, however, follows the story given in Plutarch (A.D. 46 to 120). In this case there are divergences between Livy and Plutarch, but elsewhere Plutarch's *Lives* (of celebrated Greeks and Romans compared together, hence the title *Parallel Lives*) bear traces of the influence of Livy. The description of the appeal made to Coriolanus by his mother Veturia is a fine example of Livy's dramatic power, and of his sympathetic understanding of men and women of all periods in his history. When his mother approached, Coriolanus started up, and would have embraced her: but her entreaties changed to anger. "Before I allow you to embrace me, let me be informed whether I have come to an enemy of my country or to a son, whether I am a prisoner or a mother in your camp. Could you have the heart to lay waste this land which bore you and nurtured you? However bitter and threatening the mood in which you came, did not your anger subside as you entered her territory? When Rome came into sight, did not the thought arise 'within those walls are my home and household gods, my wife and children'? If I had not become a mother, Rome would not be besieged: if I had no son, I should have died free, in a free land."

Shakespeare has caught, in his character of

Coriolanus' mother, the same spirit—energy, love of country, maternal affection.

Much of the narrative of the early books is occupied with the accounts of wars against Volsci (south of Rome), Æqui (east), and Etruscans (north): and with dissensions between patricians and commons. Some of the leading episodes are here given, especially those illustrative of Roman character.

In a war with the Æqui, Quinctius Cincinnatus¹ was called from the cultivation of his farm to be dictator. The deputies sent to fetch him found him employed in some work of husbandry. After mutual salutations, he was requested to put on his toga, and to hear a message from the senate. Surprised, and asking if all was well, he bade his wife bring out his gown quickly from the cottage. When he had put it on, after wiping the sweat and dust from his brow, he came forward; the deputies congratulated him and saluted him dictator, requested his presence in the city, and informed him of the alarming situation of the army. He crosses the Tiber, where the senate meet him, and surrounded by his friends, the lictors marching before him, he is conducted to his house. He takes prompt measures, and defeats the enemy. He resigns the dictatorship sixteen days after he took it up.

Ten Commissioners, called Decemviri,² are appointed to draw up an improved code of laws. When their work is done, the Commissioners refuse to resign their office: and one of them, Appius Claudius, attempts to secure, for his own base ends, the daughter of a Roman soldier Virginius. He is frustrated by the act of Virginius, who kills his daughter to save her

¹ Book iii. 26–29 : 456 B.C.

² Book iii. 33 : 451 B.C.

Authors of Rome

from shame. Rome is saved by virtue in humble homes, as she had been in the days of Tarquin by the virtue of the high-born Lucretia.

This narrative of the Decemviri is another of those graphic and dramatic descriptions in which Livy's early books abound. The scene in the forum, where Virginia is rescued from the sensual tyrant, the appeal made by Virginius to the soldiers in the camp, the subsequent scenes in Rome, are most vivid.

Veii, a city in Etruria, after a siege of ten years, is taken by Furius Camillus, who is another of Livy's great Romans. Camillus is afterwards accused on a charge concerning the plunder taken at Veii, and goes into exile. The Gauls invade Italy : and lay siege to Clusium in Etruria. Roman ambassadors take the side of Clusium, and the Gauls march against Rome, and gain the victory of the Allia (390 B.C.). They take possession of the whole city, except the Capitol, from which they are beaten back by the efforts of Manlius Capitolinus. Camillus magnanimously comes to his country's aid : brings up an army, and beats off the Gauls. He then finds that his countrymen are disposed to abandon the ruins of Rome and to migrate to Veii, where houses are standing, and ready for their reception. The speech of Camillus¹ on this occasion is an eloquent appeal to them to remain true to the mother city : "Do ye not perceive, Romans, what an act of impiety we are about to perpetrate ? We are in possession of a city built under the direction of auspices and auguries ; in which there is not a spot but is full of gods and religious rites. The days of the annual sacrifices are not more precisely stated

¹ Book v. 51 to 54 : 387 B.C.

than are the places where they are to be performed. All these gods, both national and of the family, do ye intend, Romans, to forsake? Why need I speak of the eternal fire of Vesta, and of her statue, that pledge of Empire, which is kept under the safeguard of her temple? What of your sacred shields, Mars Gradivus and Father Quirinus (Romulus)? Is it right that those sacred things, coeval with the city, nay some of them more ancient than the city itself, should all be abandoned to profanation? What would you think if, not the Gauls, but your old enemies the *Æqui* or *Volsci*, should form the design of removing to Rome? Would you be willing that they should become Romans and you men of *Veii*? or would you that this should be rather a desert in your possession, than a city in that of the enemy? Is it out of aversion from the trouble of rebuilding that you are ready to incur such guilt and such disgrace? Here is the Capitol, where a human head was once found, and it was foretold that in that spot should be the head of the world, and the seat of sovereign Empire. Here, when the Capitol was to be cleared by the rites of augury, *Juventas* and *Terminus*,¹ to the great joy of our fathers, suffered not themselves to be moved." The proposed law was rejected, and they set about rebuilding the city at once.

A measure proposed by two of the tribunes of the *plebs*,² that consuls might be chosen from among the commons, causes a long and violent contest, but at length becomes law. The probable explanation of

¹ Goddess of youth, and the god of boundary-marks: thus indicating that Rome would be ever young, and would never be removed.

² Book vi. 42: 366 B.C.

Authors of Rome

the long feud between the two orders is given in connection with the work of Niebuhr (page 239).

In a war against the Latins, one consul, Titus Manlius, puts his own son to death¹ for fighting contrary to orders, though he had slain his enemy. The other consul, Publius Decius Mus, devotes himself to voluntary death in order to save the Roman army. Quintus Fabius, master of the horse, engages the Samnites in battle, and wins a victory : as he had received orders from the dictator not to risk an engagement, he would have lost his life but for the intercession of the people. The debate² in the senate house illustrates the importance attached to discipline. "If the cause of Fabius were upheld," said the dictator, "military discipline would be dissolved. The private soldier would no longer obey the orders of the centurion, the centurion those of the tribune. No one would pay any deference to men, or to the gods. The soldiers, without obtaining leave of absence, would straggle at random through the lands of friends and of foes : and, regardless of their oath, would, merely to gratify a wanton humour, quit the service whenever they might choose. The standards would be forsaken. In a word, military operations, instead of the regularity established under the sanction of a sacred solemnity, would become, like those of freebooters, directed by chance and accident."

This is one of the passages noted by Machiavelli in his *Discourses on Livy*, as typical of the obedience to authority observed under the republic.

In Livy's ninth book (Chapter XVII) there is a celebrated digression on the subject of Alexander the

¹ Book viii. 7 : 337 B.C.

² Book viii. 34 : 322 B.C.

Great, who flourished at this time (end of the fourth century B.C.). A comparative estimate is made of the strength of Alexander and of the Roman people, tending to show that if the King of Macedon had carried his arms into Italy, he would not have been so successful there as he was in the East against Darius.

So the story of Rome's struggle and victories proceeds. In an engagement¹ against the combined armies of Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites and Gauls, Publius Decius Mus, the younger, follows his father's example, already mentioned, and devotes himself to death in order to win victory for Rome.

The tenth book ends with the taking of the census of the year 293 B.C.: and the mention of a pestilence, which led to the decision to bring to Rome the Greek god Æsculapius. The relations of the republic with foreign countries are becoming closer.

In these books Livy holds up to his contemporaries a model for their imitation : Roman bravery, Roman fidelity, Roman steadfastness : love of Rome from which her sons drew life, and to whom they were bound to give themselves freely and gladly.

With this ideal are combined love of family, in which wives and mothers play a part not less important because they are seldom mentioned : love of order and discipline, in the army and in the home : love of religion, which leads to the faithful observance of those ceremonies that secured to the Roman the protection of the gods, and the material blessings that appealed to a matter-of-fact nation. Perhaps Livy was the more disposed to dwell on these characteristics in the early books because the ascertained facts

¹ At Sentinum, 295 B.C., Book x. 28.

Authors of Rome

of history were relatively few. But his purpose, as we have seen, was ethical: to teach by means of example, and to impose a certain type of character upon the imagination and conduct of the degenerate Rome of his day.

He attributes the greatness of Rome to the moral qualities of the republic. If we may for a moment moralise in Livy's own manner, we may say that in Imperial England, as in Imperial Rome, devotion and singleness of purpose built up our power: that on character we rest, and if character is weakened we disappear.

Books 11 to 20 have been lost: abstracts only of their contents remain. Thus we are deprived of the account of Pyrrhus and of the first Punic war.¹ But with the twenty-first book begins the magnificent account of the second Punic war, in which Livy has used all his powers of imagination and of description with the happiest results. It is a veritable epic in prose. The subject is gigantic: "Never did any other states and nations of more potent strength and resources engage in a contest of arms; nor did these nations at any other period possess so great a degree of power and strength." Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, is one of Livy's most vivid character sketches: one of the proofs of his fairness towards the enemies of Rome. "Never man possessed a genius so admirably fitted to the discharge of offices so opposite in their nature as commanding and obeying, so that it was not easy to discern whether he was more beloved by the general (Hasdrubal) or by the soldiers, who

¹ From the adjective *Punicus*, Carthaginian: the war against Carthage.

never felt a greater degree of confidence under any other commander. With perfect intrepidity in facing danger, he possessed, in the midst of the greatest danger, perfect presence of mind." His hold over his troops is emphasised; in the course of Hannibal's adventurous march from Spain to Italy, and during the sixteen years of his Italian campaigns, not a man deserted, though the army was composed of mercenaries of various races in the heterogeneous Empire of Carthage. The siege of Saguntum¹ is followed by Hannibal's march across Spain, the Rhone, the Alps: the preliminary engagements of Ticinus and the Trebia. Then come the battles of Trasimene and Cannæ,² and the beginning of Rome's resistance under Fabius, the man who by delaying saved his country. The scenes at Rome after the great battles are among the most famous in Livy: especially that after Cannæ, when Varro, the consul whose rashness had precipitated the disaster, returns to Rome. All ranks of people not only went out in crowds to meet him, but even returned him thanks, "for not having despaired of the republic." Hannibal³ moves to Capua, where his army is sapped by luxury: and Marcellus, the sword of Rome, as Fabius was the shield, provides ground for hope of a successful issue to the war. The siege of Syracuse, the chief city of Sicily, is begun,⁴ and ends⁵ with its capture by Marcellus. Publius and Gnæus Cornelius Scipio are defeated and killed in Spain. Capua⁶ is retaken; and the young Publius Scipio, the hero of the war on the Roman side, is sent to take command in Spain. The description of Scipio's

¹ Book **xxi.**

⁴ Book **xxiv.**

² Book **xxii.**

⁵ Book **xxv.**

³ Book **xxiii.**

⁶ Book **xxvi.**

Authors of Rome

character¹ is to be contrasted with that of Hannibal. "Scipio was deserving of admiration not only for real virtues, but also for a certain judicious method of displaying them to advantage. He never transacted any business, public or private, without first going to the Capitol, walking into the temple, and sitting there for some time, generally alone, and in some retired spot. This custom, which was observed by him through the whole course of his life, made several people give credit to a notion which was then propagated, either by his own contrivance, or by some unknown agency, that he was of divine extraction." Apart from the slight doubt cast upon Scipio's sincerity, Scipio is to Livy one of the greatest of the Romans: a man of genius, with a noble and sympathetic mind.

Tarentum,² which had gone over to Hannibal, is regained. Against this success must be placed the death of Marcellus, killed in an ambushade. Hasdrubal attempts to reinforce his brother Hannibal by bringing troops from Spain. He is intercepted by the consuls Livius and Claudius Nero, is defeated on the banks of the river Metaurus in North Italy, and slain. With him perish the hopes of Hannibal.

The march of Nero from South to North Italy to join the other consul, the assistance rendered him on the march, the battle, the reception of the news in Rome, are vigorously described. "It is impossible to express the emotions that agitated the minds of all persons at Rome, either while waiting in doubtful expectation of the event, or when they received the news of the victory. The senators never quitted

¹ Book xxvi.

² Book xxvii.

the senate house, nor the magistrates nor the people the forum, from the rising to the setting sun, during the whole of Claudius' march": so eager were they to greet him on his return from the battle. At length a letter arrives from the camp: it is read in the senate, then in the assembly, amid tumultuous expressions of joy. This makes a turning-point in the war.¹

Further successes are won by Scipio,² who has then to deal with a serious mutiny in the army in Spain. He returns to Rome, is elected consul, and obtains Africa as his province. Scipio continues to be the most prominent figure. He crosses from Sicily to Africa, to bring the war into the territory of Carthage; and gains an important ally in Masinissa, the Numidian prince. Sophonisba,³ who had kept her first husband Syphax loyal to Carthage, wins over Masinissa to the same cause: but at the intervention of Scipio she is repudiated, and drinks the poison which Masinissa sends her as a bridal gift. This account shows Livy at his best as a romantic writer: in the descriptions of character, the contrast between the unbending Scipio and the irresolute Masinissa, the conflict between duty and personal inclinations in the mind of the young prince, the firmness with which Sophonisba drinks the poison: "I accept the bridal present: it is not unwelcome, if it is all that my husband was able to give his wife: but tell him that I would have died happier if my marriage bed had not been so close to my grave."

Hannibal is obliged to leave Italy in order to defend

¹ 207 B.C.

² Book xxviii.

³ Book xxx. Tragedies were written with Sophonisba as heroine, in French by Corneille, in English by Thomson (the poet of the *Seasons*).

Authors of Rome

Carthage. Negotiations for peace are opened between him and Scipio in person. Livy describes the interview between these famous captains. The conference is broken off: the battle of Zama is fought. Hannibal is completely defeated, and makes it clear to his fellow-countrymen that further resistance is hopeless.

Peace is made on severe conditions. Scipio returns to Rome, and celebrates a triumph. He gains the title Africanus.

The third decade of Livy opens with the reflection that his task has proved heavier than he expected. The two Punic wars have occupied as much space as the whole preceding history. "I plainly perceive that, like those who are tempted by the shallows near the shore to walk into the sea, the farther I advance, the greater is the depth to which I am carried." There is a certain falling off in ethical interest, and in vigour of style, in these books.

The peace with Carthage was quickly followed by a war with Macedon: a war not to be compared with the Punic war, but remarkable from the renown of the former kings of Macedon. Operations against Philip,¹ the Macedonian king, are begun: indecisive at first, they end with the battle of Cynoscephalæ² in Thessaly, in which the Roman legion proved more than a match for the Macedonian phalanx. The freedom of Greece was declared by the victor Flamininus at the Isthmian games.

Changing conditions at Rome are indicated by the agitation for the repeal of the Oppian law,³ a law against extravagance, passed in the critical days of

¹ Books xxxi and xxxii.

² Book xxxiii. 7-10: 196 B.C.

³ Book xxxiv. 1-8: 195 B.C.

the second Punic war. The women of Rome, who occupied a position of greater independence than the secluded women of Greece, made a determined attack on the law. They were opposed by Cato, the elder (one of the few characters who stand out in Livy after the Punic wars). He has no sympathy with the movement. "If every individual among us (men) had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are even here, in the forum, spurned and trodden under foot: and because we are unable to withstand each separately, we now dread them collectively!" Notwithstanding all the arguments against the motion, the women next day poured out into public in much greater numbers, and in a body beset the doors of the protesting tribunes: nor did they retire until the tribunes withdrew their protest. One suspects that Livy's sympathies were with the old Roman type of matron, who stayed at home and spun wool: but he states the case fairly from both points of view.

War is made against Antiochus, King of Syria¹: first in Europe, then in Asia. He is twice defeated.

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus,² prosecuted by the tribunes of the *plebs*, goes into voluntary exile. "His natural temper and spirit were so lofty, and he had been accustomed to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of such a state." He passed the remainder of

¹ Books xxxv-xxxvii.

² Book xxxviii.

Authors of Rome

his life in exile, without wishing to revisit Rome : and it is said that, when dying, he ordered his body to be buried at his country seat, so that even his funeral should not take place in his ungrateful country.

The worship of Bacchus,¹ having led to great disorders, is suppressed. The long war had relaxed the moral tone of the nation.

The remaining books² are occupied with the second Macedonian war, against King Perseus. After an unsuccessful beginning, it was brought to a conclusion by the victory of Pydna (168 B.C.), which was gained by the consul Lucius Æmilius Paullus. Perseus was taken prisoner, brought to Rome and led in the triumphal procession of his conqueror. But Paullus did not escape the blows of adverse fortune : “ Of his two sons, the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph : and the elder, fourteen years of age, three days after it. Before an audience of his fellow-countrymen, Paullus³ speaks of his misfortunes in the true Roman spirit : “ Perseus and myself are exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes to which mankind are liable. Yet he, who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive, has them still in safety : while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the death-bed of the other. In the house of Paullus, there is not one remaining but himself. However, for this disaster of my own family, I find consolation in your happiness, and in the prosperous state of the Commonwealth.”

Thus Livy's extant work ends with a picture of

¹ Book xxxix.

² Books xli to xlv.

³ Book xlv.

Roman constancy, Roman love of family, combined with a tenderness which is rare in Roman historians.

The influence of Livy upon the modern world may be illustrated¹ from the works of three important writers : an Italian politician, a French man of letters, a German scholar.

Machiavelli (1469 to 1527) published, about 1513, his discourses on the first ten books of Livy, in which he sets out various political maxims, derived from Livy, for the guidance of a republic such as that of his native city, Florence. The book, which is a preliminary study towards his better known work *The Prince* (*Il Principe*) follows no definite plan : and it is founded on the hypothesis that man is by nature vicious and selfish. But Machiavelli has learnt from Livy that the Roman people conquered the world not by good fortune but by virtue : by their courage, their love of liberty, and the generous treatment which they accorded to their conquered enemies. The *Discourses* form a theory of the republic, as the *Prince* is a theory of tyranny.

Montesquieu (1689 to 1755) based upon Livy his book (published in 1734) *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans*. He covers the whole of the period of Livy and of our own historian Gibbon : from early Rome to the taking of Constantinople in the fifteenth century A.D.

Montesquieu shows from Livy that Rome's power was due not only to the bravery of her soldiers, the invention of the legion, and the discipline of the nation, but to the steady policy of the senate, which consolidated the successes won by her armies in the field.

¹ After Taine, *Essai sur Tite Live*.

Authors of Rome

He contrasts with Rome her various rivals, Pyrrhus, Carthage, Macedonia : sums up the elements of strength and weakness in each case, according to system of government, internal harmony or discord, military training, climate : and by a comparison of the forces opposed to each other shows that Rome's success was inevitable. He thus restates the conclusions of Livy's great Greek predecessor as historian of Rome, Polybius. But his inspiration comes from Livy in the description of Roman character.

Niebuhr (1776 to 1831) published in 1812 his *Roman History*. He brought great learning and acuteness to the problems of the early history of Rome. For Livy, as an artist, he has a deep admiration : but as a historian Livy has made mistakes, and Niebuhr sets to work to reconstruct the early period according to his own views. The history of the kings of Rome in Livy is poetical, romantic. Niebuhr believes this account to be based on ballad poetry, sung at festivals in memory of the exploits of ancestors. Instead of taking literally the narrative of these early times, we should analyse them in order to discover the truth which underlies them. This view is supported by the poetical cast of Livy's language in his early books. But it must remain a hypothesis. Enthusiastically taken up by English scholars, it was adopted by Thomas Arnold (Arnold of Rugby) in his *History of Rome* (published in 1838), where Livy is followed in the light of Niebuhr's criticism : and by Macaulay in his *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), who set himself the task of reconstructing the national ballads of Rome in a vigorous, though somewhat rhetorical, style.

Niebuhr's other leading hypothesis has met with more favour. He explains the internal history of Rome, especially the disputes between the patricians and plebeians, by assuming that the patricians were a different nation, were in fact the primitive people of Rome, organised in *gentes*, and connected by inter-marriage and by religious ties. Beneath them are the plebeians, formed from the population of alien cities which had been transferred wholesale to Rome, and had the citizenship, but not the vote nor the right to intermarry with the patricians. The fierceness and duration of the disputes are well explained if two separate nations, not only two classes, were involved.

The influence of Livy on English historians was more marked in the eighteenth century than in recent times. The clear and harmonious style of Hume is influenced by Livy: and the massive design of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* certainly owes something to the work which described the rise and the continuance of the power of the Roman republic. It was on the Capitol at Rome, in sight of the forum where Livy's men had moved and spoken, that Gibbon conceived the plan of his history: and the Emperors of the "golden age," the second century of our era, whom he so admires, might have stepped from the pages which describe a Cincinnatus or a Camillus.

History is a science: and it is also an art. Livy was conscious of both these views when he wrote in his preface of the historians who claimed to surpass their predecessors by greater accuracy or a better style.

As a scientific historian, Livy does not stand in

Authors of Rome

the front rank. Though he read widely, he did not sift his authorities : and even when aware of their imperfections, he continues to quote them. Thus he places the annalists of Rome on a level with a trained observer like Polybius.¹ The evidence of the monuments, of archæology, he scarcely used at all. In geography he was not much interested : he has failed to describe the physical outlines of the countries in which the scene of military operations is laid.

His knowledge of tactics and of strategy is not that of a man versed in the art of war : his accounts of battles are by no means clear. His standard of accuracy is not that which we expect from a historian, but that which we accept from the writer of a historical novel.

As against these faults of omission or commission should be placed Livy's moral and patriotic purpose. He selected a great subject, seven centuries of the life of a great nation of conquerors and law-givers. He wrote the history of Rome with fine enthusiasm for all that was good in it, for the noble types of character which it produced, and also with understanding of those nations and individuals who were sacrificed on the altar of Rome's success.

On the artistic side, Livy is one of the greatest of historians. His style is the product of a vivid imagination, and a rich and poetical vocabulary. It has the variety necessary in a work of such length. It is never tame even in ordinary passages, and on

¹ 204-122 B.C. : a native of Achæa, he was brought to Rome as a hostage, and became intimate with Scipio and Lælius. He wrote in Greek a *Universal History* in forty books, of which we possess the first five intact, and fragments of others.

suitable occasions it rises to an eloquence which no Roman writer has surpassed. Its march is like that of the conquering Roman legions : steady, vigorous, majestic.

In our own day when so much history is written, chapter by chapter, on technical issues, by syndicates of scholars for the use of other scholars, it is refreshing to turn to the historian who chose a long period of his country's life and wrote for ordinary readers, vividly and dramatically, not neglecting the science of history, but subordinating science to art.

The contribution of Livy to the art of history is not merely this noble style. More than Thucydides, far more than Herodotus (with whom he has so often been compared), he has shaped the art for his successors. He tells the whole story ; but with a fine sense of artistic proportion he dwells on the striking, the fateful, the instructive episodes. He has a " philosophy of history " (the phrase is modern), a sense of moral purpose and moral values. He writes to charm, but also to instruct. Every historian that has written since is a conscious or unconscious follower of Livy.

TRANSLATIONS :—

Philemon Holland, 1600. Loeb Library, 3 vols have appeared to date (Books i-vii).

Other works :—

Seeley : Introduction to his edition of Livy, Book I.

Taine : *Essai sur Tite Live* (Hachette), 1923.

Authors of Rome

These passages are selected from the later books, which are less widely known.

Nero marches to join his brother Consul against Hasdrubal. (xxvii. 45 : 207 B.C.)

When Nero had moved far enough from the neighbourhood of Hannibal to make it safe to reveal his plans, he addressed a short speech to his troops ; no general, he said, had ever conceived a plan which was bolder on the surface, but in reality safer than his. "I lead you to certain victory. Livius did not leave Rome for the campaign until the senate had provided him with an army, horse and foot, as large as he asked for, larger and better equipped than if he marched against Hannibal himself. When we fling our forces, small as they are, into the scale, the balance will at once determine in our favour. When the news spreads through Hasdrubal's battle-line—and I will take good care that it does not reach him before the battle—that the other consul has come upon the scene with a second army, the victory will be placed beyond a peradventure. Wars are brought to an end by public opinion : men's minds are led towards hope or fear by circumstances of small import. We shall reap nearly all the harvest of glory which success will bring. The final reinforcement is considered to have dealt the finishing blow. You can observe for yourselves how men flock to pay honour to us on our way : you can see their admiration, their enthusiastic support."

The whole route, in fact, was lined with men and women standing in rows, after they had hurried away from their farms ; offering vows and prayers for the soldiers as they marched past, and praising them as the defenders of their country, the saviours of Rome and her Empire. Upon their weapons and strong arms rested the safety, the freedom, of Italy and her sons. They prayed to all their gods and goddesses to bless the men on their march, to smile upon them in the hour of battle, and give them

a speedy victory over Carthage. They asked the gods to hold them to the promises which they made on behalf of the troops : and as a return for the anxiety with which they followed the army in its progress, they asked to be allowed to meet it a few days later, with joy corresponding to the soldiers' pride in victory.

Scipio addresses his mutinous army. (xxviii. 27 : 206 B.C.)

Tell me that you have not all joined the mutiny, or sympathised with it : say that only a few have been so misguided, so foolish. If you tell me that, I will believe you gladly. The fault is not one which has spread through the whole army, and therefore calls for signal retribution. I have no wish to touch the wound : but unless I touch it, and handle it, no cure can come. When I had driven the soldiers of Carthage out of Spain, I thought that, in all that province, there was no person or place that bore a grudge against me : my conduct not only to Rome's allies but to her enemies had—so I supposed—merited this result. Now, judge of my disappointment : in my own camp, the report of my death has been not merely accepted, but anticipated with hope. Not that I wish to regard you all as guilty. If I thought that every one of my soldiers had wished me to die, I would end my life here, forthwith, before your eyes, finding no more pleasure in an existence that was distasteful to my countrymen, and to my fellow-soldiers. But every large body of men is like the sea ; of itself it is motionless ; the prevalence of calm or of storm depends upon the impulse given by light breeze or gale. The motive force of your folly is supplied by the ringleaders : from them you caught the fever of madness. Even now, so it seems to me, you do not realise the length to which your blindness has carried you, nor the nature of the fault which you have ventured to commit against me, your country, your parents and children, against the gods who witnessed your military oath, against the auspices which attend

Authors of Rome

you upon your campaigns, the ingrained habits and sense of subordination of Roman soldiers, and the majesty of the greatest of empires.

Cato argues for the continuation of a law against feminine extravagance. (xxxiv. 2 : 195 B.C.)

I have heard of a story, a piece of fiction as I suppose, that in some island every male was destroyed, as the result of a conspiracy among the women. And now, if you permit women to meet, take counsel, and deliberate in secret, the greatest danger confronts each one of us. I can scarcely make up my mind whether such conduct is worse in itself, or worse in the evils to which it opens the way. The first is the concern of us, the consuls, and of the other magistrates: the second, Romans, is your affair. Whether the motion which is brought before you is in the interest of our country must be decided by your votes: but the present excitement among our women, whether it arose spontaneously, or at the prompting of the tribunes, is obviously a reproach to the magistrates, and it is hard to say whether tribunes or consuls are brought by it into greater disrepute. The tribunes are discredited if they have brought women to provoke disturbances on their behalf: the consuls, if we are to be driven to agree to a law because the women secede, as the Commons did in bygone days. Not without blushing did I pass into the forum a few moments ago, through the midst of this band of women. If I had not been restrained by my respect for the dignity and modesty of one or two women, not of the sex as a whole, and so prevented from addressing, as consul, a public reproof to them, I would have said, "what habit is this, of running out into public, of besieging the streets, of accosting men not of your family? Could you not have asked your own men at home to do you this favour? Are you more alluring in public than in private: to strangers than to your own folk? And even in your own homes, if Roman matrons were kept by modest feeling within the proper limits

of their own activity, it ought to be no concern of theirs what laws we pass, or what laws we rescind. Our ancestors did not allow women to conduct even their own personal affairs without the sanction of a guardian. They placed women under the control of father, brother, or husband. But we, good faith, allow them to govern the country, to have a share in forum, assembly, election. What are they now about in streets and public places but recommending to the commons this bill backed by the tribunes, and the abolition of the previous law? Give the rein to a temperament which knows no control, an animal untamed, and then expect them to set bounds to their own freedom. If you will not employ restraint, you will find that this is the very lightest of the burdens, placed on them by law or custom, at which they chafe. In fact, if we call things by their real names, what they want is complete liberty, or rather complete licence.

The end of Scipio's greatness. (xxxviii. 51 : 187 B.C.)

Finding that he offered no opening through past misconduct, Scipio's enemies attacked him with the weapon of his unpopularity. Their speeches lasted till nightfall, and the session of the Court was adjourned. When it next met, the tribunes took their seats upon the Rostra, at dawn. The accused was summoned ; he passed to the Rostra through the midst of the assembly, accompanied by a great throng of his friends and dependents, and when silence had been secured, he said " Tribunes of the Commons, and men of Rome, this is the day on which I fought a pitched battle in Africa, against Hannibal and Carthage, and gained a great and crowning victory. Therefore, as it is fitting that to-day there should be a truce to strife and quarrels, I will go forthwith to the Capitol, to worship Jupiter, best and greatest, Juno, Minerva, and the other gods who watch over the Capitol and the Citadel : and I will render thanks to them because, both on this day and at many other times, they

Authors of Rome

have given me the skill and the power to lead my country to success. Men of Rome, if it is convenient to you, come with me, and pray to the gods that you may have other leaders like me. For if from my seventeenth year to my old age you have ever outstripped my days in the honours you have given me, I for my part have gone beyond those honours in the services which I have done."

From the Rostra, he went up to the Capitol. The assembly, like one man, turned aside to follow Scipio, till at last the tribunes were deserted by their clerks and messengers, and none remained with them save a company of slaves, and the crier, who was usually sent from the Rostra to summon the attendance of the accused.

The character of Cato. (xxxix. 40 : 184 B.C.)

In the election to the office of Censor, Marcus Porcius easily defeated all the patrician and plebian candidates, even of the highest families. He was a man of such force of intellect and genius that in whatever rank he had been born, he would have made his own way in the world. He had all the gifts which win success in private and in public life, and he was as much at home in farming as in statecraft. While other men have been carried to the highest honours by knowledge of the law, or eloquence, or distinction in war, Cato had a talent so versatile that you would have said he was born to do the one thing that he was doing. In war, he was a gallant soldier, who won renown in many a famous fight : when he reached high office, he was great as a general. Again, in time of peace, if you consulted him on a point of law, he was completely versed in it : if you asked him to plead your case, he was an admirable speaker. He was not one of those who are famous for their eloquence in their lifetime, but leave no record of it after them : on the contrary, his eloquence lives and flourishes, and writings of every description enshrine his fame. He made many speeches, in his own defence, for others, or against others, for his method of wearing down his enemies was not only to accuse them,

but to defend himself. Many were the private animosities which kept him awake, as he kept them : it would not be easy to say whether the nobles were sharper in their attacks on him than he was in his assaults upon the nobles. He had beyond doubt a rough temper, a bitter tongue, uncontrolled, indeed excessively so : but his feelings were free from the sway of evil passions. Of strict uprightness, he despised wealth and influence. In respect of thrift, and endurance of toil and danger, he was of iron frame, and iron will. Even old age, which weakens all things, could not crush Cato.

SENECA

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA was born at Corduba (Cordova) three or four years before the Christian era. He was the second son of the rhetorician Seneca, a writer of great ability. The younger Seneca was brought in his childhood to Rome, where his father had reached equestrian rank. Seneca attained the quæstorship, and was eminent as a pleader by the time of Gaius (Caligula : A.D. 37 to 41), who, in jealousy at his success, would have taken his life if he had not been assured that Seneca was likely to die soon by a natural death. In the first year of Claudius (A.D. 41), Seneca was banished to Corsica by the influence of Messalina. In A.D. 49, he was recalled through the influence of Agrippina. He was prætor in A.D. 50 : and in the year 54, when Nero became Emperor, Seneca with Burrus, prefect of the prætorian guard, became Nero's adviser. His position was not an enviable one : and after the first few years (the *quinquennium Neronis*) his influence was not sufficient to hold Nero in check. At last he resigned his post, and surrendered his great wealth to the Emperor. After living in retirement for several years (A.D. 62 to 65), he was accused of complicity in the conspiracy of Piso, and was forced to commit suicide. His death took place in A.D. 65, shortly before that of his nephew Lucan. He met his end with firmness.

We are not concerned here with Seneca as a minister : the ancient authorities differ in their estimate of him, Tacitus being favourable, the Greek historian Dio Cassius consistently unfavourable. Seneca seems to have prostituted his abilities in the defence of some

of Nero's blackest deeds, including the murder of his mother Agrippina. He recompensed himself by making use of favourable opportunities for increasing his fortune, which became very large. His riches, the lordly state which he kept up, his gardens and villas, suggested a possible aspirant to the principate. His relations towards Nero eventually became like those of Wolsey towards Henry VIII: and, as with Wolsey, the offer to give up everything could not avert the final doom.

Seneca was the most brilliant man of letters of his time: his prose writings which have been preserved are varied in subject, extensive in number, and effective in style. He has also left nine dramas whose influence has been considerable, and at one time was dominant, on both the English and the French stage.

In his prose works, he devoted himself in the main to meditations on nature and human life. The Stoic system, with which he started, was modified in him, as in most Latin writers; its harshness softened and toned down, its extreme views adapted to the needs of public life.

Seneca has been called the "philosophic director" of the upper classes of the age: it was a position for which he was qualified by experience. He had occupied the highest office in a monarchy which ruled the world, he had undergone startling vicissitudes in his earlier career, he had lived in constant fear of death. The Stoic creed aimed at the triumph of reason over selfishness: it dwelt on the worthlessness of the things of sense, on death as the final release from the miseries of life. Like Lucretius, Seneca has seen the restlessness of exhausted appetite,

Authors of Rome

the inability of pleasure to please. To these sick souls he would open up the vision of a higher life, through the practical discipline of philosophy.

We do not look to Seneca for profundity of thought, but for capacity to direct the wayward wandering soul. The nearest parallel to his position is the modern parish priest, with his weekly sermon; or rather, because of the greater intimacy of his knowledge, and personal nature of his appeal, the chaplain to some great family. Philosophy has come down into the houses of the highest Romans, who perhaps expected day by day the centurion bearing the order to end life. To sustain character and conduct in the face of such dangers, and to ensure firmness at the last, is Seneca's aim; and from Tacitus, who devotes several chapters to Seneca's own death, we learn that he did not fall below his precepts.

Seneca's prose writings consist of moral letters, formal treatises on ethics, and writings on natural philosophy. The collection of letters is addressed to Lucilius, procurator of Sicily. These were begun in the year 57, and were written with the intention of being published. We possess 124 letters, divided into twenty books: later, they were collected to form a continuous whole. Several separate treatises are addressed to Serenus: "that the wise man endures neither injury nor shame," "On peace of mind," "On leisure." A dialogue on the shortness of life is addressed to Paulinus. A famous book is that "On anger." There are three separate "Consolations": one addressed to Marcia on the death of her son; another to his own mother Helvia, upon Seneca's exile, intended to promote his recall; the third to Polybius, an

influential freedman attached to the Imperial service under Claudius. The theme of the last is the death of Polybius' brother: there is much flattery of Claudius. There are also two books on "Clemency," and seven on "Giving and Receiving favours." Another work, in several books, is the "Questions about Nature," dedicated to Lucilius. This was used in the Middle Ages as a text-book of natural science. A lampoon on the dead Emperor Claudius, called by the strange title "Pumpkinification," instead of "Deification," is a witty and venomous political satire, directed against the memory of Claudius.

In verse we possess nine tragedies of Seneca, and several epigrams. The plays are: *Hercules Furens*, *Troades*, *Phænissæ*, *Medea*, *Phædra*, *Œdipus*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, *Hercules on Mount Œta*. The play which describes the death of Nero's wife Octavia, and is named after her, is not by Seneca, for it mentions the downfall of Nero, which Seneca did not live to see. This is a large amount of literary work: Seneca is surpassed in extent by Cicero and Livy alone among Latin prose writers.

The letters to Lucilius (which are really sermons) set forth the system of Seneca. He tells us that he loves teaching, and that he tries first to ensure his own conviction of the truth of what he says. He does not assume superiority over those whom he instructs. He prefers to write for a few chosen spirits, rather than for the crowd. To his chosen friends he wishes to be adviser and guide in all things, having had exceptional experience, as we have seen, and having made a special study of the human heart. He thus resembles Tacitus in his equipment, but his

Authors of Rome

preference is for methods of exhortation, not of denunciation. He is not a satirist: he is constructive rather than destructive; if he pulls down, it is to rebuild. Two of his great themes are the ideal of human brotherhood (which includes the slave), with the obligation to universal benevolence which is based on that principle: and the ideal of womanhood, which points to the equality of woman with man in culture and virtue. Seneca had broken with paganism, and had realised that true worship of God is not in formal prayer and sacrifice, but in striving to know and imitate His goodness. In our brief life on earth, we are citizens of two commonwealths: one the city in which we were born, the other the great city in which all are equal, male and female, bond and free, as children of a common Father.

The good teacher does not state principles, he gives minute precepts for every circumstance of life. To be effective, precepts must be repeated: the repetition is not a fault but a necessity. This gives room for Seneca's ingenuity and fertility of resource. He is unwilling to say a plain thing in a plain way. He is a master of the "pointed" style, which has been defined as one that seeks to be ingenious rather than true, exercising the wit, but not rousing the emotions, or appealing to the judgment of the reader. This style remained in favour throughout the "silver" age of Latin, which included the first century of our era. Antithesis and paradox are common in it: partly as the result of the training in declamation, which gave scope for elegant description and polished wit.

The subjects of the letters of Seneca are various;

such as old age, physical exercise, travel, the treatment of slaves, study, suicide, ill-health no evil, vegetarianism, style the mirror of morals. Several deal with philosophy: it cannot alter temperament, it brings true glory, it is not merely the learning of maxims, it is not a prerogative of the well-born. The method is discursive and impersonal. The suppression of references to contemporary persons and events were no doubt a measure of precaution, due to the susceptibilities of Nero.

The more formal treatises merely vary the method but do not alter the substance of the teaching. Named "dialogues," they are really treatises, mostly without descriptions of place or time which would enable us to date them. That on "the Shortness of Life," addressed to Paulinus, describes the various ways in which men waste time, squandering the one thing of which it is right to be niggardly. Men are divided into two classes: the *Occupati*, whose minds are "engrossed" by business or pleasure, and the *Otiosi*, the students of philosophy, who alone are "at leisure." Similarly, we shall see Quintilian blaming his generation for wasting in frivolous pursuits the time which they might devote to the study of oratory.

The "Consolations" are proof of Seneca's power of sympathy, which enabled him to penetrate the heart of his friend, and minister to him in his sorrow. Let us take first that addressed to Polybius, the freedman of Claudius, for the loss of his brother. Seneca's real motive for writing it was his desire to be recalled from banishment in Corsica: the support of Polybius might be useful with Claudius.

Authors of Rome

“All men must die. Your grief can be of no service to the dead man or to yourself. Let us make an end of useless sorrow. Whatever the condition of the dead, your brother cannot wish you to suffer grief on his account. Your example will have influence on your surviving brothers : if they see that you are cheerful, they will be cheerful also. Above all, think of Cæsar, and of your obligations to him. While engaged in your duties to Cæsar, you will be safe from sorrow. Let Cæsar be your chief source of comfort. There are many instances in which a pair of brothers have been divided by death ! Study literature, and write something to prolong your brother’s memory.”

The “*Consolatio*” to Helvia has greater sincerity. Its purpose is to console his mother for the absence of her son (Seneca himself), and to assure her of his happiness though in exile. He is pleasantly occupied with problems of natural science and of philosophy. “Happiness depends on a man’s self, not on his circumstances. Exile is not so dreadful as it sounds. The place where a man is matters little. Poverty is no evil. The mind is the source of true wealth. Much is expected of you. Follow the example of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. Study will bring you comfort and peace. Your two other sons will support and comfort you.”

The “*Consolatio*” to Marcia is on the death of a son. Examples of fortitude are given. Death is the common lot. Life is a vale of sorrow. Perhaps your son would have suffered more if he had lived. Those whom the gods love die young.

It has been said in contrasting Seneca with another

great writer of "Consolations," the Greek Plutarch, that, while Plutarch excels in collecting motives of consolation, Seneca excels in forming character that needs no consolation. Plutarch is more fitted to console a mother sorrowing over her dead child : Seneca, to nerve a brave man to grapple with an inevitable fate.

In the treatise on "Clemency," a distinction is drawn between clemency and pity. Clemency is one of the highest virtues, pity a positive vice, which bear the same relation to clemency as superstition does to religion. Pity is the weakness of a feeble mind that flinches at the sight of suffering. Clemency is an act of judgment, which apportions the suffering to the guilt ; it is passionless, it befits the sage. Pity disturbs the judgment, it contemplates only suffering, it is unreasoning emotion, it is suited to weak women and diseased minds. "The sage will console those who weep, but will not weep with them : will restore the son to his mother, save the captive from the arena, and bury the criminal : but he will feel no pity. His countenance and his soul will betray no emotion as he looks on the rags and starved body of the beggar. But he will help those who are worthy, and, like the gods, his leaning will be towards the wretched."

The reference to the arena reminds us that Seneca denounced the gladiatorial games, refuted the argument derived from the previous guilt of the combatants, and declared that as a form of amusement the games were savage and brutalising.

The leading example of clemency is the Emperor Augustus, who spared the life of Lucius Cinna, although he had conspired against him. The treatise

Authors of Rome

is addressed to Nero at the beginning of his reign, and is meant to encourage him in his sentimental dislike to inflict extreme penalties. Montaigne in his *Essays*, Corneille (*Cinna*), and Racine (*Britannicus*) have made use of the episode of Augustus and Cinna.

The book *De Providentia* tries to answer the question "why are good men unfortunate?" Seneca's reply is that virtue has more scope in time of calamity. A brave man matched with misfortune is a sight for the gods, as Cato was when he stood erect amid the ruins of his country. Hardships are a compliment paid by Fortune to the courageous. The heavier the blow, the greater the honour of enduring it.

"On the constancy of the philosopher" is a description of the ideal Stoic "wise man," who is superior to all emotion, and has no wants. Armed by virtue, he overcomes all his difficulties. No wrong can be done to him, for his endurance is invincible.

"On Anger" is a long work, in three books. Anger is madness. It is not according to nature. Left to themselves men are kindly. Anger is of no use, even in war: if anger supplants reason, it is fatal to its possessor. It is no proof of greatness of soul, but of inflated egoism. Anger in the young should be prevented by education: and in adults, by delay. We ought to restrain ourselves, and to check others who fall into this fault.

"On the Happy Life" is addressed to Gallio, Seneca's brother. The happy life is that which is lived in accordance with nature. True happiness lies in virtue. If anyone asks me "why don't you practise what you preach?" I reply, "I am not a wise man,

and never shall be." Seneca defends the philosopher who is a wealthy man. His money has not been stolen from anyone : it has been honestly earned. Here he is clearly thinking of himself.

The book "On Leisure" is divided into two parts : the life of complete devotion to philosophy, and the life which is compounded of contemplation and action. The latter is preferred.

"On Mental Tranquillity" is one of the most useful of his treatises. It makes suggestions for the cure of unrest. We should study ourselves, and see whether we are equal to the task that is set us. We should choose worthy friends. Economy makes us happier than great wealth. Take life easily ; do not let yourself be affected by your own troubles, or those of other people. Follow the example of the Greek sage Democritus, who made light of misfortune.

The book on the "Shortness of Life" is a pendant to that on "Mental Tranquillity." Life is short : and it is important that no part of it be wasted. We live as if we were never to die. The busy man (*Occupatus*) is too much taken up with frivolous tasks, which keep him from realising the present or recalling the past. Seneca praises the philosopher who looks equally at every part of his life, and who extends the bounds of man's existence by teaching us the things that matter.

The book on "Benefits" is a manual of advice to Nero, telling him how to exercise his patronage. When and how should we bestow benefits ? What is the reason of ingratitude ?

Seneca is an incoherent writer : the book is not well constructed : he never succeeds in having a plan

Authors of Rome

in his longer works, and “ dances round his argument, never quite losing sight of it, and coming back to it for a moment when he wishes to make a fresh start.” To summarise his treatises is difficult: but they abound in fine phrases or passages.

The lampoon on Claudius has somewhat more cohesion. One scene is laid in heaven, one on earth, and one in hell. On the arrival of the dead Claudius, Jupiter asks Hercules to reconnoitre and see what this strange monster may be. Hercules knew all manner of men; but Claudius took him by surprise. Eventually he made him out to be “ almost a man.” In the debate on the deification of Claudius, Augustus, who had never spoken in heaven before, opposes, on the ground that Claudius had killed many of his own relatives. “ If we make him a god, no one will worship him, or us.” So he is sent down to hell. On the way he sees his own funeral, and at last realises that he is dead. He hears a dirge which alludes to his habit of judging cases after hearing one side, or none. In hell, he is surrounded by the ghosts of those he has killed, and asks “ how did you all get here ? ” He is condemned to play dice for ever with a box that has no bottom.

The subject of the *Quæstiones Naturales* is natural phenomena: astronomy, meteorology, physical geography. Seneca deals with such matters as Lucretius had discussed in the sixth book of his poem: thunder and lightning, winds and earthquakes, rising and falling springs, comets.

The Stoics held physics to be without value except for their bearing on moral questions. They represented philosophy as a field: physics they compared

to the trees, ethics to the fruit for which the trees exist, logic to the wall or fence which protects the enclosure. They pursued the study of physics only to support certain ethical conclusions : they instituted few independent researches, and discovered no hidden truths. Moral significance is attached by Seneca to every phenomenon that he investigates. The standpoint is man. Mirrors were discovered, for example, in order that man might know himself. At the end of each book, he sums up the moral to be deduced from the facts which he has reviewed. The earthquakes in Campania in 63 A.D. furnish him with moral lessons. That event gave a spur to pessimistic theories, and a blow to optimism, like that given by the Lisbon earthquake of 1758, which led to the writing of Voltaire's *Candide*. But where Seneca sees a motive for neglecting this world where such horrors can take place, Voltaire sees a motive for doing what we have to do diligently : for "cultivating our garden."

Among the services rendered by Seneca to science is his insistence upon the importance of correct data. He records his own careful observations made when digging among his vines. He was a contemporary of the elder Pliny, who also wrote on science, and who gave his life in attempting to study the eruption of Vesuvius at close quarters.

Seneca has also a clear perception of the constant increase of knowledge. Science is long, and life is short. He is anxious to be just to his predecessors ; all subsequent discoveries must be put down to the credit of those early thinkers. It was a task demanding great courage to remove the veil that hid Nature, to look beneath the surface, and dive into the secrets

Authors of Rome

of the gods. He also looks into the future : he is "the solitary classical writer who believed in progress in our modern sense." The day will come when the progress of research through long ages will reveal to sight the mysteries of Nature that are now concealed. How small a portion of God's work is entrusted to us ! Let us not be surprised that what is buried so deep should be unearthed so slowly. Nature does not reveal all her secrets at once.

The *Natural Questions* are quoted several times by the great medieval scientist, Roger Bacon (1214-92), whose own fruitful ideas, like those of Seneca, were ignored. At length Francis Bacon, in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), insisted on the wisdom of securing continuity in science by providing readers (lecturers), and paying the expenses of the experiments which they undertook. Thus Seneca's dreams have reached their fulfilment in the last three centuries.

Seneca's point of view in the *Natural Questions*, his preference of morality to physics, appealed to the Middle Ages, and especially to the medieval Church, by whom he was regarded as a Christian. He was a contemporary of St. Paul : they were born within a few years of each other, they both died at the same time, victims of the same tyrant : and the coincidences of thought and of language between the two are so close that writers have accounted for them on the supposition of personal intercourse.¹

The Christian parallels in Seneca's writings became more frequent as he grew older. He may have learnt

¹ See Lightfoot : Appendix to his edition of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Philippians*.

of the Gospel orally from his slaves: or, less probably, the Gallio "who cared for none of these things," and who was Seneca's brother, may have told him that Paul had been brought before him at Corinth, when he was proconsul of Achæa. Burrus, the friend of Seneca, as prefect of the prætorian guards, had charge of Paul: or Seneca may have been present as Nero's adviser when Paul was brought before the Emperor for trial.

The correspondence between Paul and Seneca, consisting of fourteen letters, six written in the name of Paul, eight in that of Seneca, enjoyed great popularity in the ages before the Reformation: but is now recognised to be spurious.

The influence of Seneca's prose writings was great in his lifetime: he had (as Tacitus said) an attractive genius which suited the popular ear of his day. Quintilian, though finding fault with Seneca's taste, yet admits the nobility of his moral teaching. The Christian Church quickly learned to value the thought of Seneca. Tertullian, for instance, speaks of him as "often ours," that is, often like a Christian, from the resemblance between Seneca and the New Testament already noted. In the Middle Ages Seneca was constantly quoted. Roger Bacon used his *Natural Questions*; Dante alludes to him as "the moral Seneca"; Chaucer quotes him in his *Summoner's Tale*; and Petrarch chose him as one of the nine ancient authors to whom he addressed letters. In France, in the sixteenth century, he was constantly used by Montaigne. In England, besides his effect on the drama, which is discussed elsewhere, Seneca is quoted by several men of letters—including Thomas

Authors of Rome

Lodge, who translated nearly the whole of his prose works (1614). Francis Bacon admits that his own *Essays* are copies of the letters to Lucilius, which are "dispersed meditaciouns, though conveyed in the form of Epistles"; several of the best-known passages in Bacon's *Essays* are translated from Seneca. Cowley, Wycherley, Dryden, Pope, were acquainted with Seneca, but his influence in England declined in the latter part of the eighteenth century, not to be renewed, though in the next century Landor has a dialogue between Seneca and Epictetus. In France, Rousseau and Diderot pay a tribute to Seneca, to whom they owe far more than to Cicero.¹

The plays of Seneca are an example of his strength and weakness as a rhetorician. They are all on mythological subjects; and were intended not to be acted but to be recited. The characters are developed not in action but in speech. Old or young, human or divine, slaves or freemen, they speak in epigrams; the attention of the reader is concentrated on the intellectual exercise of repartee.

The form of these tragedies is simple: a number of declamatory speeches in iambic metre, varied by choruses in lyric metres. The style of the speeches is antithetic and "pointed," with many fine descriptions. All the characters talk the language of Stoic exaltation: external goods are reckoned as nothing in comparison with virtue. Tyranny and oppression give virtue more scope. Death is naught, suicide is a luxury. The choruses are unconnected with the plot. They celebrate the praises of some god, or

¹ Summers: introduction to his edition of Seneca's selected letters (Macmillan).

dwell on some moral commonplace. The versification of the choruses is correct, but monotonous.

Seneca keeps within the number of three actors, in imitation of Greek tragedy. The *Medea*, *Hercules Furens*, *Hippolytus*, and *Troades* are taken from Euripides : the *Œdipus* from Sophocles.

The faults of these plays are conspicuous : realism is carried too far. *Medea* kills her children in front of the audience. The *Thyestes* and *Œdipus* are a series of horrors. The love of *Phædra* for *Hippolytus* is a coarse sexual longing : she describes his physical attractions in terms which would suit a Roman lady appraising the strong body of a gladiator. Again, the characters of Seneca are under the domination of one motive. *Phædra* is the lustful woman, *Deianira* is the jealous woman. Shakespeare, though he shows *Othello* and *Macbeth* in the grip of jealousy or ambition, makes the obsession seem natural, and does not divest them of humanity.

The influence of these "character dramas" upon the French stage began to be considerable in the sixteenth century. A group of writers, called the *Pléiade*, undertook the reform of the drama upon ancient models. They wrote for the same kind of audience as Seneca : small and cultivated. Their pieces, which were seldom acted, were full of declamatory commonplaces, tirades, and antithetical repartee. The principal writers were Jodelle (1532–1573) whose chief play was *Cléopâtre Captive* (1552), and Garnier (1535–1601), author of *Cornélie* (1574) which dealt with the times of Cicero. The features of these plays are : the division into five acts, the chorus detached from the action, the use of mes-

Authors of Rome

sengers to announce events that happened off the stage; such fixed characters as the confidential nurse; the use of the supernatural, of startling and revolting themes, of sententious speech, and antithetical dialogue.

The earliest English tragedy appeared soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. *Gorboduc*, or *Ferrex and Porrex* (1562) by Norton and Sackville (Lord Buckhurst), is a play of the true Senecan type. Gorboduc is a king of Britain, who divided his kingdom in his lifetime between his two sons Ferrex and Porrex. The sons fell to dissension. The younger killed the elder. The mother killed the younger. The people killed father and mother. The nobility destroyed the rebels, and then engaged in civil war, in which they and many of their issue were slain. This play was the first in which blank verse was used on the English stage.

In France the influence of Seneca was maintained by Corneille (1606–1684), who observed the rules of three dramatic unities (time, place, and action). Incident was almost excluded, and the progress of the play was mainly sustained by messenger and confidants. The “Classical” drama of Corneille and his successor, Racine, held the French stage until the Romantic movement of 1830.

In England, the style of *Gorboduc* was maintained by Thomas Kyd (born about 1568), one of the group of University wits. Kyd translated *Cornélie* (by Garnier), and thus set the fashion of moral reflections and physical horrors, so attractive to Elizabethan audiences. Kyd’s own play, the *Spanish Tragedy*, is in the same style. Others who wrote in the style of

Seneca were Marston, Ben Jonson (in *Catiline* and *Sejanus*), Shakespeare himself in *Richard the Third*.

The influence of Seneca has been greater in France than in England, and to this day his writings are studied in French universities and schools.

In England his work is not so well known as it should be. There is much in the treatises and in the moral letters which applies to our age with as great force as when Seneca wrote. His remedies for discontent—unselfishness, friendship, economy—are no less serviceable to-day. His emphasis on the claims of the inner life, his concern with the great and permanent interests of mankind, cheerfulness, fearlessness, self-possession; his analysis of states of mind, and his proofs that conduct depends upon temperament, that the mind has its own diseases, and that cures can only come after patient study, make him worth attention in our own analytical and psychological age.

He has also laid stress upon the triumphs achieved by the human intellect. He is beyond his age in his faith in the possibilities of science: and feels that science can only advance in a community where intellectual energy is not absorbed in material interests. He is a supporter of the simple life, of plain living and high thinking. For his fearless assertion of the power of the mind in overcoming superstitions, for his enigmatic character, blended of strength and weakness, bravery and cowardice, as well as for the pregnant brevity of his style, Seneca has been compared to Francis Bacon, the father of modern inductive science.

Authors of Rome

TRANSLATIONS :—

Moral Letters : Loeb Library.

On Benefits : T. Lodge (reprint), Temple Classics, 1899.

Natural Questions : J. Clarke (Macmillan), 1910.

Apocolocyntosis : Loeb Library, 1913.

Tragedies : Loeb Library, 2 vols., 1917.

Other works :—

H. E. Butler : *Post-Augustan Poetry from Seneca to Juvenal* (Oxford University Press), 1909.

Dill : *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, Book iii, ch. 1.

Lucas : *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*, 1922.

Godley : in *English Literature and the Classics*.

Slaves are human beings. (Ad Lucilium : Ep. xlvii.)

Pray remember that he whom you call your slave sprang from the same source as you, delights in the same sky, breathes, lives, dies in the same way. You are as likely to see him free as he to see you a slave. After the defeat of Varus,¹ there were many men of the noblest families, who had adopted a military career with the prospect of promotion to the senate, and were dragged down by misfortune. One became a shepherd, another the keeper of a cottage. Now despise, if you can, the victim of ill-luck which may be yours at the very moment that you despise him. I do not propose to let myself go on this common place, or discuss the treatment of slaves, to whom we show ourselves exceedingly cruel, arrogant, and insulting. The upshot of my advice is this : live with your inferior as you would have your superior live with you. When you remember your power over your slave, remember also that your master has the same power over you. You say "I have no master." But you are still young. Perhaps you will have one. Do you forget how old Heeuba was when she became a slave, or Cræsus, or Darius' mother, or Plato, or Diogenes ? Live with your slave in gentleness and courtesy. Let him share your conversation, your counsels, and your meals.

What we read should be properly digested. (ad Lucilium : Ep. lxxxiv.)

This travelling, which forces me to be inactive, is good for my health, I am sure, and also for my studies. You can see why it benefits my health. Love of books makes me lazy and forgetful of the needs of the body, but (in travel) I take my exercise at the expense of others.² Why travelling helps my studies, I will tell you. I had given up reading : but reading is indispensable, in my judgment. In the first place, it keeps me from being

¹ In Germany : A.D. 9.

² By being carried in a litter.

Authors of Rome

satisfied with myself, secondly, when I know what others have thought I can criticise their discoveries and proceed to make discoveries myself. Reading feeds the mind : when the mind is fatigued with study, reading refreshes it, at the cost of more study. We ought not to confine ourselves exclusively to writing or to reading : the first (I am speaking of the pen) will take the freshness out of our powers, and drain them dry : the other will make them weak and diffuse. We must pass from one to the other in turn, and modify one by the other ; thus whatever reading has brought together the pen will form into a whole. We ought, as the saying goes, to copy the bees. They roam abroad and cull flowers suitable for making honey : then they set in order all that they bring back, arrange it in combs, and, as our Virgil has it, " they pack close the liquid honey, and with sweet nectar distend the cells."

Medea tries to nerve herself to kill her children.
(*Medea* : 934.)

My heart is smitten with dread, my limbs are benumbed with cold, my bosom trembles. Rage has departed from its post, the injured wife is banished, and all the mother returns. Am I to shed the blood of my children, mine own offspring ? Ah, frenzied madness, avert from me this fearful sin, this deed without a name. What is the fault for which these unhappy ones will atone ? The fault is Jason, their father : a still greater fault, their mother, Medea. Let them fall, for they are not mine. Let them perish, nevertheless they are mine. From sin and crime they are free. They are innocent, I grant ; so also was my brother.¹ My soul, why dost thou waver ? Why is my face wet with tears, why am I drawn one way by rage, the other way by love ? The shifting current hurries me on, bereft of purpose : as, when the rapid winds wage fearful war, the seas on either hand raise

¹ Absyrtus, whom Medea killed when she fled from Colchis with Jason.

their billows in mutual strife ; the neutral waters boil. Even so my heart is a tossing sea : rage banishes love, love rage. Resentment, do thou yield to love.

Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, demands the sacrifice of Polyxena at his father's tomb : Agamemnon refuses. (Troades : 315.)

P. It is the mark of a great king to grant life to a king.

A. Why did your hand, then, rob a king¹ of life ?

P. The merciful man will often give death instead of life.

A. And now in your mercy you ask for a maiden for the tomb ?

P. Do you think it a sin to sacrifice maidens ?²

A. It is the duty of a king to place his country above his children.

P. No law spares the prisoner or bars his punishment.

A. That which no law forbids, is forbidden by honour.

P. The victor may lawfully do whatsoever he will.

A. He to whom much is lawful has least scope for will.³

P. With this right hand I will give to Achilles the victim that is his due. If you refuse, and keep her, I will give a greater victim, a worthy offering from Pyrrhus. Too long my hand refrains from shedding the blood of a king. Priam calls for an equal.

¹ Priam.

² Agamemnon had sacrificed his own daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a favourable wind for the Greek fleet at Aulis.

³ The same thought as in Cæsar's speech, page 146. Those in high places have no real freedom of action.

QUINTILIAN

MARCUS FABIVS QVINTILIANVS (QVINTILIAN) was born in A.D. 35, at Calagurris (Calahorra), on the River Ebro, in Spain. His father was a teacher of rhetoric there. Quintilian came to Rome in early life : and was no doubt trained in rhetoric under his father, who was also in Rome. He returned for a time to his native place, but came back to Rome with Galba in A.D. 68. He then began his long service as a public teacher of oratory. Favour was shown him by Vespasian, not only because he was a learned man and a great teacher, but because he was a moral force. A professorial chair of rhetoric was founded and endowed by Vespasian in A.D. 72, and Quintilian was its first occupant. He thus became the official head of the leading school of oratory. Among his pupils were the younger Pliny and Tacitus. The references made to Quintilian in Juvenal's satires are complimentary, and show the good influence exercised by him, and the appreciation in which he was held at Rome.

After acquiring a considerable fortune, he retired from teaching and pleading at the Bar. He composed a treatise on the causes of the decay of eloquence, which was long confused with the *Dialogue on Oratory* written by Tacitus. He next wrote his work on the complete training of an orator (the *Institutio Oratoria*), in twelve books, embodying the methods and experiences of his long career. While engaged on this task, he was selected by Domitian to conduct the education of the Emperor's grand-nephews (A.D. 93). Quintilian was made consul : and expressed his thanks to the Emperor in terms of gross flattery.

He sustained the loss of his wife and his elder son about A.D. 94.

The *Institutio* appeared in A.D. 95. We hear no more of Quintilian. It is probable that he died in the same year.

In his great work he treats oratory in a manner midway between the popular works of Cicero and technical works on rhetoric. It is more thorough than the first, more attractive than the second. It is a complete manual for the training of the orator, from the cradle to the public platform. He takes the pupil at birth ; for, in the view of Cato, that an orator is " a good man trained to speak," the best results will be obtained both as to goodness of character and skill in speaking, if the lessons begin as early as possible. His book is a treatise on education in general, and on rhetorical education in particular. Oratory is the goal of the whole training : and every form of knowledge can supply something useful to the future orator. Part of the interest of the work is due to the generous character of Quintilian as revealed by it. He is more inclined to recognise merit than to indulge in captious criticism. The cultivation which he recommends to his pupils he possessed himself : he was widely read in Greek and Latin literature, prose writers and poets, and was intimately acquainted with the orators of the classical period of Rome, especially Cicero, of whom he speaks with the greatest respect. His explanations are supported by illustrations taken from the orators : theory is guided by their practice, and by his own personal experience.

The orator's training begins with the cradle. Early impressions are important. Cornelia, mother of the

Authors of Rome

Gracchi, trained her sons to eloquence from childhood. A good nurse must be selected. This must not be left to chance. When the boy has outgrown the nursery, the question arises—is he to be sent to school? He might either be educated at home under tutors, or be sent to learn at school. Quintilian strongly recommends parents to send their sons to school, for a curious reason: in this way their tender years will be saved from the daily contamination which the scenes of home life afford. When he leaves school, the boy will attend a rhetorician. The second book handles this matter, describes the duties of the professor and his pupil and the various tasks which they go through. Quintilian then discusses¹ the different departments of oratory. This is the central subject, and occupies several books, which are the most technical in the work. Style is discussed in the eighth and ninth book, with the aid of passages from orators, poets and historians. The results are brought together in the tenth book. In order to acquire facility of style it is necessary to read widely and judiciously. This leads Quintilian to enumerate those Greek and Roman authors which are most useful to an orator. The brief criticisms which he adds are mainly directed to this end of usefulness to the orator: but they have a wider scope, and represent the conventional verdict of the day. We may congratulate ourselves that so much of ancient literature, as Quintilian knew it, is still in our hands, in spite of the changes of fashion and the vicissitudes of time.

The eleventh book is on memory, and on delivery (*actio*). With the twelfth book we come to the moral

¹ Book iii.

qualifications necessary for a public speaker. The great orator must be a good man. The highest talents are nothing if distorted by evil thoughts.

The style of Quintilian is modelled on that of Cicero : but certain later usages have crept in. He disliked the forced ingenuity of the style of Seneca : of whom he writes (in the tenth book) : “ Seneca had many great merits ; an easy and fertile talent, deep study, wise knowledge of the world. He treated nearly the whole range of literature : speeches, poems, letters and dialogues written by him are still current. In philosophy he was not very painstaking ; but he was a notable assailant of vice. Many brilliant epigrams are to be found in him, and much that may be read with a moral purpose ; but with a view to eloquence his style is mostly corrupt, and all the more pernicious because it abounds in agreeable faults. One could wish that he had used in writing his own talent, but another’s judgment : for if he had despised the affected style, if he had not striven after unnatural expressions, if he had not loved all that was his own, if he had not weakened the force of his matter by aiming at epigrammatic brevity, he would be commended by the general verdict of the learned rather than by the favour of the young.”

Since the discovery, by Poggio, of a complete manuscript of the *Institutio*, in 1416, Quintilian has been regarded as an author of great importance on ancient eloquence, and has been placed by the side of Aristotle and of Cicero.¹ Luther and Erasmus read Quintilian diligently : Roger Ascham quoted him.

¹ See the introduction to F. H. Colson’s recent edition of Quintilian’s first book (Cambridge University Press).

Authors of Rome

Milton recommends the study of Quintilian. He is more than a teacher of rhetoric : he has taken up the best results of ancient culture, and his mind was filled with the experience of a vigorous and deeply interesting period of Roman life.

TRANSLATION :—

Loeb Library, 1920–1922 : 4 vols. (H. E. Butler).

Other works :—

F. H. Colson : Introduction to his edition of Book I (Cambridge University Press), 1924.

Should the future orator be taught at home, or in school? (Inst. Orat.: i. 2.)

The child will now begin to develop, to leave his mother's lap, to learn seriously. This is the best place to discuss the question whether it is more profitable to keep him studying at home, within private walls, or to hand him over to a crowded school, to instructors who are virtually State officials. The second course has won the approval of the law-givers who have formed the manners of famous nations : and is supported by writers of great distinction. But we must not conceal the fact that there are some who, on the strength of personal conviction, dissent from this public method of education. These objectors seem to follow two lines of argument : the first, that the character gains more if we avoid a crowd of persons at the age which is most prone to vice, for this has often given rise to disgraceful conduct. So at least they say, and I wish the statement could be denied. The second argument is that the future teacher, whoever he is, will bestow his time more freely upon one pupil, than if he has to share it among a number. The first of these arguments is one of great weight. If it were generally admitted that the school is good for study but bad for the character, I should attach greater importance to living decently than to speaking ever so eloquently. But in my judgment the two are inseparably joined together. There is no orator who is not a good man. That is my view : and even if it could be otherwise, I would not have it so. (After discussing and rejecting the claims of private study, Quintilian resumes.) Having now refuted the objections that are raised, let me explain my own preference. Above all, the future orator, who must live in great publicity, in the full blaze of civil life, should be accustomed from his earliest years to be without fear of men, not to grow pale in the solitary life of the cloister. His mind needs to be aroused, encouraged : for in such retirement it either becomes feeble, and contracts a kind of mouldiness in the dark, or, on the other hand, it is swollen with the vanity

Authors of Rome

of self-esteem, for the man who has no one with whom to compare himself cannot help attaching too much importance to himself. Afterwards, when his studies have to come into the open, he is dazed in the strong sunlight; he finds everything new, for he has learnt by himself that which he must practise before a company. I say nothing of school friendships, which last with undiminished strength even to old age, and are consecrated with a sort of religious bond. Initiation in the same mysteries is no closer link than initiation in the same studies. And where will the scholar learn ordinary tact if he cuts himself off from society, which is natural not only to human beings but to dumb animals? Again, at home he can learn only the lessons which are given to himself: in school he can also learn lessons given to others. Every day he will hear many things commended: many faults corrected. It will do him good to hear some one else reproved for laziness, or praised for perseverance. By this praise his emulation will be aroused. He will think it a disgrace to be beaten by a contemporary, a distinction to surpass those who are older than himself.

Cicero's merits as an orator. (x. 1, 105.)

Cicero, when he had once given himself entirely to imitation of the Greeks, seems to have reproduced the power of Demosthenes, the flow of Plato, the sweetness of Isocrates. He did not merely succeed by study in reaching the highest qualities of each of these, but by the happy fertility of his immortal genius he produced from himself very many virtues, in fact all virtues. In the words of Pindar, he does not collect rain water, but with living tide o'erflows his banks, born by a gracious dispensation of Providence to enable eloquence to make trial of all her strength. Who can instruct more accurately, or sway the feelings more forcibly, than Cicero? Who was ever gifted with such sweetness? You would suppose him to win by persuasion what he extorts by force: while he carries the jury away by his vehemence, and turns them from the path of their own judgment, they seem

not to be carried, but to follow. In fine, in everything that he says there is such authority, that men are ashamed to disagree with him. He brings not the interested motives of the pleader, but the credibility of a witness. Meanwhile the eloquence, of which each detail can scarcely be grasped by the closest attention, flows on without effort, and his style, which is the noblest of all to the ear, nevertheless bears upon it the stamp of the happiest extemporisation. Therefore not without good cause Cicero was called, by the men of his day, the sovereign of the law courts. With posterity he has reached such a position that Cicero seems the name not of an individual but of all eloquence. Hence let us look at him : let us set him before us as an example. Let any man know that he has made progress when he takes delight in Cicero.

TACITUS

PUBLIUS (or GAIUS) CORNELIUS TACITUS was born about A.D. 55. He lived through the reigns of nine Roman Emperors, and died about A.D. 120. His personal history is known to us from references in his own works, and from letters addressed to him by his friend the younger Pliny. Tacitus, who was of good family, was trained in rhetoric. When he was little over twenty years of age he married the daughter of Julius Agricola, who became governor of Britain, and whose biography he afterwards wrote.

Tacitus began his official life under Vespasian, as quæstor (before A.D. 78); he was promoted by Titus (in 80 or 81) to be ædile or tribune, and was still further promoted by Domitian (who ruled from 81 to 96). He was prætor at the celebration of the Secular Games in 88. Next year he left Rome, and was absent till 93, probably holding a provincial governorship. It is conjectured that it was at this time that he became acquainted with Germany and its peoples, which he afterwards described in his book *Germania*.

In 93, Agricola died. Tacitus was obliged to witness the reign of terror which went on during the last years of Domitian: and, as a senator, he felt in some measure responsible for it. Under Nerva (96 to 98) the clouds lifted. But the reign of terror had left an indelible impression on the mind of Tacitus. He was consul in 97. In 99, he was associated with his friend Pliny in conducting the prosecution of a former governor of the province of Africa: and he received a vote of thanks from the senate for his conduct of the case. In A.D. 112 he was proconsul of Asia. The

latter part of his life was spent in literary work. The date of his death is uncertain.

Pliny had the highest opinion of the ability of Tacitus, and of his eminence as a writer. He reports with great satisfaction a remark made to Tacitus at some games in the circus by the man who sat next to him. "After various and learned conversations," this man asked Tacitus if he was Italian, or from the provinces, and received the reply, "You know me from my literary work." He then asked, "Are you Tacitus, or Pliny?" To be mistaken for the great Tacitus was to Pliny a compliment indeed. He consults Tacitus about a school which he thinks of founding at his birthplace (Comum): and asks him to look out for suitable teachers. His opinion of Tacitus' literary work is shown by the words: "I know that your *Histories* will be immortal, and this makes me the more anxious that my name should appear in them."

Tacitus' extant works are five in number: The *Dialogue on Orators* (perhaps A.D. 81): the life of *Agricola* (98): the book on *Germany* (98): the *Histories* (began to appear 109, completed 115): the *Annals*, which was his latest work. In considering their contents, we should bear in mind both the natural tendencies and the varied experience which he brought to his writings. Though not of the highest social rank, he belonged by sympathy and associations to the aristocratic class: and drew much of his information from the memoirs of great houses, and the accounts given him by those who had lived through the evil days of the earlier Empire. In the second place, he was an orator, with the spirit of the

Authors of Rome

rhetorical schools, their variety and force of style. Finally, his official experience enabled him, in his later books, to take a wide survey of public affairs.

The *Dialogue* is the account of a conversation held in the house of the poet Maternus. Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, accompanied by the youthful Tacitus, call upon their friend, and find him reading his tragedy about Cato of Utica. Secundus deprecates the outspoken sentiments placed in Cato's mouth. Aper urges Maternus to abandon so useless a pursuit as poetry, especially as it must interfere with his forensic duties. In reply, Maternus announces his intention of withdrawing from the forum and the law courts, and of devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of the Muses. A discussion follows between Maternus and Aper concerning the respective values of oratory and poetry. It ends with the entrance of Messalla, who praises them for occupying their leisure hours as befits men of true culture. An ironical remark about Aper's fondness for the rhetorical practices of the time leads Aper to ask what are Messalla's reasons for preferring the oratory of the past. He himself admits of no decadence or decline in the art : he makes a severe attack on the orators of the Roman republic and passes to a glowing eulogy of modern eloquence. Messalla assigns, as the reason of the decline, the modern laxity in connection with the education of the young. In former days, parents took greater care of their children. He also speaks of the bad effects of declamation, with its fictitious cases, and atmosphere of unreality. There is at this point a gap in the manuscripts : after which a speaker, probably Maternus, points out that the

decadence of oratory is due to the lack of opportunity for its display under the Empire. Life, though it is safer and better regulated, is not so favourable to oratory as in the stirring times of the republic.

The views of Maternus may be taken as those of Tacitus himself: he is already a conservative, but without bitterness. The style of the *Dialogue* is modelled on Cicero.

In the *Agricola* (which is an essay in the manner of Sallust, with preface, narrative, speeches, digressions), Tacitus apologises for offering biography to an age which, though better than that of Domitian, preferred satires on vice to the praises of virtue. It is easier to discourage industry and talent than to restore them to their proper place: the book is intended to do honour to a good man. *Agricola*'s parentage and education are described. He was born¹ of worthy parents at Forum Julium (Fréjus), and educated at Massilia (Marseilles), where he studied philosophy "more ardently than is permissible to a Roman and a senator." He served his apprenticeship to the art of war under Suetonius Paulinus, in Britain. He became quæstor, then prætor. He joined the party of Vespasian, and was appointed to the command of a legion in Britain: where he did so well that he was made governor of Aquitania, in South Gaul. In this office he showed his natural tact and judgment. He had set times for business and relaxation: on days of session, when trials were held, he was dignified and austere: when the claims of duty had been met, the official character was set aside. His urbanity did not weaken his influence over men:

¹ A.D. 40.

Authors of Rome

his strictness did not cost him their regard. After his consulship, Agricola became governor of Britain. Its position and shape, the customs of its inhabitants, the climate, the products of the soil, are described. Populated by Gauls, it has the same religion, and almost the same speech, as the Gauls. The climate is made detestable by rain and mists. The cold is not intense. Crops ripen slowly, but grow quickly : the cause is the same, the excessive dampness of earth and sky : Tacitus writes of a time before our island had been drained. Britain produces gold, silver and other metals, the reward of victory. Then follows a sketch of the Roman conquest of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the subjugation by Claudius. The insurrection of the Britons under Boudicca (Boadicea) is mentioned, in briefer form than in the fourteenth book of the *Annals*. Vespasian adopts a vigorous policy in regard to Britain : Agricola attacks the island of Mona (A.D. 78). As his troops, including cavalry, ford the channel separating Anglesea from the mainland, the coast must have changed greatly since that time. The submission of the Britons is followed by moderate measures on Agricola's part. He establishes forts and garrisons, reforms abuses and introduces Roman civilisation, educating the sons of the leading men in liberal arts, and showing a preference for the natural powers of the Britons over the industry of the Gauls. The Roman toga began to be worn ; and " the attractive accompaniments of vice soon followed ; arcades, baths and elegant banquets." Agricola pushed his conquests north, and built a line of fortresses from the Clota (Clyde) to the Bodotria

(Forth). He posted some troops on the western coast opposite Ireland, which lies "half-way between Britain and Spain." The soil and climate of Ireland and the mode of life of its inhabitants are not greatly different from those of Britain. Agricola sheltered an Irish chieftain driven out by civil broils. He told Tacitus that Ireland could be conquered by a small Roman force : but he did not make the attempt.

The Caledonian tribes make an assault on Agricola north of the Forth, but are defeated. Advancing as far as the Grampian hills, he is met by the enemy assembled under their leader Galgacus. Galgacus addresses to his men an exhortation to make an effort for freedom against an army of invaders kept together by fear, not by affection. It is impossible otherwise to escape from the Roman lust of dominion. The speech contains two famous phrases : remoteness has kept Britain safe hitherto : "all that is unknown is treated as marvellous." The Roman policy is one of robbery and murder : "they make a wilderness, and call it peace." Agricola reminds his troops of their past achievements, and of the necessity of victory. In spite of desperate courage, the Britons are defeated with heavy loss. Domitian was filled with envy at the news of Agricola's victory : he recalled him, and received him coldly. "It is a characteristic of the mind of man to hate the person one has wronged." Agricola's death (A.D. 93) occurred soon after. There was a suspicion of poison : Tacitus says that he cannot tell whether it was true or false, but he lets it be inferred that it was true. Agricola's death, however grievous to his friends, was opportune, and even to be desired. Agricola did not live to see the murders

Authors of Rome

of many Romans of high rank, during the reign of terror of the last years of Domitian, when senators, of whom Tacitus was one, were used as the instruments of tyranny to drag the innocent to prison and to death.

Agricola, in fact, in the famous phrase, was happy in the opportuneness of his death. It is a sad reflection to Tacitus that he and his wife, Agricola's daughter, could not be at Agricola's side. But his memory remains as a consolation and an encouragement.

The *Germania* describes the boundaries of Germany: its inhabitants; the soil and products of the country. The Germans are indigenous and unmixed. Hence they all resemble one another. They have blue eyes, with a fierce expression; red hair; big bodies, strong in attack, not so serviceable for hard work. They can endure cold and hunger better than heat and thirst. The land is covered with forests and fens: "the herds have not their due honour, or glory of forehead," is a Tacitean way of saying that the German horses do not reach their proper size, and that the cattle have not such fine horns as in Italy. The German manner of fighting is explained. Infantry fight intermingled with cavalry. Cowardice brings with it disgrace. Their kings are chosen for their noble birth; their leaders in war for their valour. The authority of king or chief depends on the example which he sets. Punishment is in the hands of the lay priests. Their women come to witness battles, and encourage the warriors to fight well. The Germans especially worship "Mercury and Mars," but do not confine their gods within the walls of a temple, nor do they make images

of them. They obtain omens from the use of lots, of the flight of birds, of the neighing of horses, of single combat. They prefer war to agriculture, and are lovers of the chase.

Life in the German village is described; the chastity of the women is praised (with an insinuated contrast with Roman laxity). In Germany no one makes a mockery of vice; "to corrupt others and to be made corrupt is not called the fashion of the age." But they love drink, and are addicted to gambling. Lending money on interest is unknown. Their funeral rites are unpretentious. Their great men are cremated; the dead man's weapons, his favourite horse, are burned to accompany him to the other world. They speedily desist from tears, but are slow to forget their grief. Women may bewail their dead: men prefer to remember them.

The second part of the *Germania* is an account of the various tribes, such as Cimbri, Cherusci, Chatti. Those in the west are named first: then the central tribes; then those in the east. Among the central tribes, the Suevi are the most important: in fact, this is a generic name for all the central peoples.

It is mainly to Tacitus that we owe our knowledge of ancient Germany, the life and character of its peoples. We gather that they were not entirely barbarous, though they knew nothing of art or literature, or of the civilisation of Greece or Rome. They had a social organisation, headed by an hereditary landed aristocracy, and including freeborn men, freedmen and slaves. They were governed by chieftains or kings whose power was limited. They had no distinct order of priests, such as the Druids in Gaul;

Authors of Rome

no temples, or images of the gods. They had a love of simplicity, and a spirit of independence. Tacitus was especially struck by the reverence which they paid to the marriage-tie.

He obviously felt that there was danger to the Empire from the side of Germany, and he expresses the hope that the German tribes will continue to be on bad terms with one another, as on their dissensions and blood-feuds depends the safety of Rome.

The *Histories*¹ begin with the account of the reasons which led Tacitus to select this particular period. Galba, Otho, Vitellius had never injured him nor aided him. Consequently he is at liberty to write of them without fear or favour. "Those who lay claim to unimpeachable honesty must not speak of any with undue affection, but must speak of all without hatred." He embarks upon the history of an age rich in calamity, cruel in its battles, bitter in its feuds, dangerous even in peace. "Four Emperors met a violent end. There were three civil wars, other wars with foreign nations, some wars which partook of both characters; successes gained in the east were balanced by failures in the west; troubles in Illyricum, the provinces of Gaul wavering, Britain completely conquered and forthwith abandoned. Italy smitten by misfortunes, either new, or recurring after the passing of many generations. Whole cities (the most fertile region of Campania) swallowed up in the sea or overwhelmed by lava. Rome ravaged by fire, ancient temples destroyed in the flames, the very Capitol burnt by Roman hands. Sacred rites

¹ Originally in fourteen books: of these only four and a fragment of the fifth have been preserved.

neglected, unchastity in high places. The sea crowded with exiles, and the island rocks stained with their blood.”¹ The reign and downfall of Galba (January 1 to 15, A.D. 69) occupy the first half of Book i. He is succeeded by Otho, who is accepted as Emperor at Rome, but the troops in Lower Germany proclaim Vitellius. The generals of Vitellius, Valens and Cæcina, march into Italy, Valens by way of Gaul, Cæcina through what is now Switzerland. The scene then changes to Rome, where Otho enjoys his short-lived power from January to March, and then leaves Rome for the seat of war.

The second book opens with affairs in the East. Titus, son of Vespasian, who was at that time conducting the war against the Jews, is sent to Rome to congratulate Galba, but returns on hearing of Galba's death. Vespasian decides to postpone active measures for the present. In Italy, a campaign in the neighbourhood of the modern Genoa, between Otho and Valens, results in a stalemate. Valens and Cæcina effect a junction: a battle is fought at Bedriacum, not far from Cremona. The Othonians are defeated. When the news reaches Otho, he prepares for death, and falls upon his sword. At Rome, the cause of Vitellius is embraced with enthusiasm. He marches south, and visits the battlefield on his way. Vespasian is proclaimed Emperor, first at Alexandria, and then by his own soldiers (July, A.D. 69). The whole of

¹ This passage, *Hist.* i. 2, is a good specimen of Tacitus' style, with few verbs, or connecting particles, but with much variety and picturesque detail. It has been closely followed in the translation, but the constructions of Tacitus, and especially the ablative absolute, cannot always be rendered literally.

Authors of Rome

the East swears allegiance to him. His supporter Mucianus begins his march to Italy.

Vitellius enters Rome. He accepts the name of Augustus. Jealousy breaks out between Valens and Cæcina. They are ordered to set out to meet the forces of Vespasian, but Cæcina secretly meditates treachery. The rival armies meet near Cremona.¹ The Vitellians are driven back. Cremona is captured and sacked. Spain, Gaul and Britain join the side of Vespasian. The Vitellian army surrenders. In Rome Vitellius wishes to abdicate, but is forced to return to the Palace. A skirmish ensues between his followers and those of Sabinus, who tried to seize Rome in the name of Vespasian : in the course of this, the temple of Capitoline Jove catches fire, and is destroyed. The troops of Vespasian advance on Rome, and storm the prætorian camp. Vitellius is taken prisoner, and put to death.

The fourth book begins with an account of affairs in Rome after the defeat of Vitellius. Vespasian is accepted by the senate as Emperor. Helvidius Priscus, a man of independent character, whose after-career occupied part of the missing portion of the *Histories*, on this occasion spoke his mind about the choice of fit persons to be sent as envoys to Vespasian. In the country of the Batavi (Holland), a revolt against Rome is headed by Julius Civilis, who invites his fellow-countrymen to resist the levy. He besieges the Romans in their fortified camp : the garrison surrenders, and is put to death. The disaffection spreads, and some Roman soldiers mutiny ; but the arrival of reinforcements from Rome forces them to

¹ Book iii, 22.

return to their allegiance. During this time Vespasian is in Egypt, where he performs miraculous cures.

The fifth book, of which we possess only a fragment, deals first with the history of the Jewish war, and contains a famous passage on the origin of the Jewish people, and the laws attributed to Moses. Judæa and Jerusalem are described, including the Temple, and the preparations for the siege of Jerusalem. We then return to Civilis. He is opposed by the Roman general Cerialis, and a battle is fought. Civilis is defeated, and retires to the *Insula Batavorum*, at the mouth of the Rhine. These events belong to November, A.D. 70, less than two years from the opening of the *Histories*, in January, A.D. 69.

Tacitus shifts his scene from one part of the Empire to another, now Egypt or Palestine, now Italy, now Gaul or Germany. He has a truly epic conception of history. The death of Galba sets in motion forces all over the world : the tramp of the legions is heard as they converge from the North or West, or from the distant East, upon the plains of Northern Italy, to dispute the prizes of victory ; empire for their general, and rich largess for themselves.

The *Annals* open with a rapid description of the chief periods of Roman history, and his reason for his selection. Republican Rome has had its famous historians ; the reign of Augustus has been adequately dealt with. But the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero have hitherto been falsified, through flattery in their lifetime, and by detestation since their death. Tacitus, who professes to

Authors of Rome

be impartial, accordingly selects a period where truthful history has so far been impossible.

The death of Augustus (A.D. 14) gives occasion for judgments, which Tacitus quotes as uttered by the "man in the street," some favourable, some unfavourable, upon the character and policy of the dead Emperor. Divine honours are decreed to Augustus. He is succeeded by Tiberius, as the result of the plans made by his mother Livia, who has long been the power behind the throne.

The scene abruptly shifts to Pannonia, a province bordering on the Upper Danube, where the Roman legions mutiny, demanding higher pay and milder discipline. This is followed by an outbreak among the legions of Lower Germany, which is more serious. The descriptions of these events are magnificently vivid: we see the life in a great Roman camp, the men, their ringleaders; the divided motives, loyalty to their military oath, contrasted with irritation against the system of punishments. Another fine description in this first book is that of the battlefield on which the army of Varus had perished some years before. Their remains are now buried with due ceremony.¹

The second book deals with the campaign of Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, against some German tribes at the mouth of the Weser. The Germans are led by Arminius,² who had seen service in the Roman army. Germanicus is victorious, but on his return by sea is caught in a storm, and many of his ships are wrecked. He is sent on a mission to the East, where he is attacked by illness, and dies.

¹ *Annals* : i. 62.

² Hermann.

Suspicion of poison and witchcraft is directed against his enemy, Piso: and it is hinted that Tiberius was not sorry to be rid of a possible rival in the gallant soldier Germanicus. Piso is subsequently put on his trial, and commits suicide.¹ A serious rebellion breaks out in Gaul, but is suppressed.

The fourth book opens with an account of Sejanus, the minister who was to have such influence later over Tiberius. The Prætorian guards are concentrated by his advice in a camp outside Rome: and as prefect of these guards Sejanus had Rome and the Emperor under his control. A number of persons were accused and condemned, for various reasons, which leads Tacitus to apologise for the monotony of his subject. These trials were frequently brought abruptly to an end by the suicide of the accused. Tiberius retires to Capreæ (modern Capri),² an island off the Campanian coast. There, it is hinted, he gave himself up to debauchery, taking advantage of his remoteness from the public opinion of Rome.

The fragment of the fifth book tells us of the death³ of Livia, widow of Augustus, and, since his death, known as Augusta. She lived to extreme old age: "In the purity of her family life she was made upon the ancient model, affable beyond what was thought wise in women of the old type; as a mother, imperious, as a wife, compliant, well matched with the subtlety of Augustus, and the dissimulation of Tiberius." The lost part of this book no doubt contained a description of the famous meeting of the senate in the Palatine Temple, at which the "long

¹ *Annals* : iii. 15.

² iv. 67 : A.D. 26.

³ A.D. 29.

Authors of Rome

wordy letter " from Capreæ was read, which resulted in the overthrow and death of Sejanus.¹

After the death of Sejanus, two of his children were executed, and persons connected with him were punished. The remainder of Tiberius' life saw a number of persons of high rank attacked and put to death. He died in A.D. 37, in his seventy-eighth year. His life and character are briefly sketched.² As stepson of Augustus, he had many rivals, including the young Marcellus (whose death was deplored by Virgil). His wife Julia was unfaithful; after a period of retirement, almost of exile, at Rhodes, he returned to be heir-apparent, and then Emperor. His character varied with the various periods of his career: he was blameless in the lifetime of Augustus, secretive and cunning while Germanicus lived, a mixture of good and evil till the death of his mother Livia. He concealed his vices " while he loved Sejanus, or was afraid of him "; " finally he broke out in open wickedness, laying aside modesty and fear, and henceforth followed the true bent of his disposition."

Part of the sixth book, and the whole of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth books of the *Annals* have been lost.

The eleventh book gives the events of A.D. 47. Messalina, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, a bold and unscrupulous woman, obtains the conviction of several persons. Her life is an amazing record of lust and crime, which is confirmed by the evidence of

¹ A.D. 31. This is alluded to in the Tenth Satire of Juvenal. Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, like his *Catiline*, is learned, but deficient in human interest.

² *Annals*: vi. 51. According to Tacitus, the keynote of the character of Tiberius is dissimulation.

Juvenal's sixth satire. Messalina and the younger Agrippina (Nero's mother) are among the most vivid portraits drawn by Tacitus, and give a clear impression of the corruption of the age in which such women could have the influence which they undoubtedly exerted.

Lost to all sense of shame, Messalina goes through the ceremony of marriage with a Roman noble, Silius Claudius, weak and uxorious, is informed of the marriage by the powerful freedman, Narcissus, who, fearing that the Emperor will forgive her and restore her to power, gives orders for her execution.¹

The remaining books of the *Annals* show destiny slowly but surely closing upon the Julian family. The history of the next twenty years (A.D. 48 to 68) is a prolonged tragedy. Claudius marries Agrippina. Seneca is recalled from exile and becomes the instructor of Agrippina's son, the young Domitius, afterwards the Emperor Nero. Octavia is betrothed to Domitius.

Tacitus now proceeds to describe the conquest of Britain.² Publius Ostorius, the new legate, quells a rebellion of the Iceni. A colony is founded at Camulodunum (Colchester); the Silures resist under Caractacus, who is defeated. His wife and daughters are made prisoners, and he is given up to the Romans. His arrival at Rome is made the occasion of great rejoicing, and the success is compared to that of Scipio Africanus, who led Syphax in his triumph, or of Æmilius Paulus, who brought King Perses to Rome. It is pleasant to record that the life of Caractacus was spared. At Rome, Burrus was made prefect of the

¹ xi. 38 : A.D. 48.

² xii. 31-40 : A.D. 50.

Authors of Rome

Prætorian guard. Felix,¹ brother of the powerful Pallas, was made procurator of Judæa and Samaria : thus we touch on sacred history. The famous reference to Pontius Pilate in connection with the death of Christ, though it belongs to an earlier year, is in the fifteenth book.

Agrippina resolves to get rid of Claudius, owing to her fears of Narcissus, who has taken up the cause of Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina. In the absence of Narcissus, Agrippina poisons her husband : her son Nero is saluted as Imperator by the soldiers. The Senate subsequently confirms the choice.²

The thirteenth book is a masterpiece : great in conception, even greater in execution. Nero's rule began with the celebrated *quinquennium Neronis*, the five years of good government which were the prologue to the tragic ten years which followed. Nero was guided by Burrus, Commander of his life guards, and Seneca, his Home Secretary, who for a time held the tiger in leash. Gradually, the influence of Agrippina diminishes. She ranged herself on the side of Britannicus, the rival claimant of the throne. Britannicus is poisoned³ by the aid of a woman named Locusta, a professional in this art.

Nero engages in riots in the streets at night, setting the fashion to other disorderly revellers such as Juvenal describes (in his third satire). A senator who, when thus assaulted, defended himself against Nero, was forced to kill himself.

Nero forms an attachment to Poppæa Sabina. Her

¹ xii. 54 : A.D. 52.

² xii. 69 : A.D. 54.

³ The life and death of Britannicus furnished Racine with the subject of his tragedy of this name.

former husband Otho is banished, but will himself be Emperor one day (in A.D. 69). The growing distrust and hatred of his mother, which Nero feels, is fostered by Poppæa. An attempt upon Agrippina's life by means of a ship constructed to sink at some distance from the shore is unsuccessful; she is then done to death brutally by some soldiers.¹ A false account of the event was given to the senate by Seneca. Nero exhibits himself in the circus as a charioteer, thus giving great offence to his subjects. He composes verses, another offence. Greek games are instituted at Rome; the prize of eloquence is awarded to him. Once more we have Juvenal's testimony (in his eighth satire) to prove how deep was the indignation aroused by such conduct.

Affairs in Britain (A.D. 61) are once more important. Suetonius Paulinus attacks and overcomes the Druids (in Anglesey). The Iceni revolt under their queen, Boudicca.² Camulodunum is sacked. The ninth legion is cut to pieces. Suetonius reaches, and abandons, Londinium: this is the first mention of London in ancient times. It was as yet unwalled. It is not a Roman colony, but "thronged with merchants and filled with stores." Evidently London was the great depot to which imported goods, and those intended for exportation, were brought. A great battle is fought between the armies of Suetonius and Boudicca. The Britons are routed with great slaughter. Boudicca takes poison. At Rome, the death of Burrus (A.D. 62) removes another check upon

¹ Thomas Gray's tragedy of *Agrippina* is based on this.

² Cowper's verses beginning with the words "When the British warrior queen, Bleeding from the Roman rods," were suggested by this event: also Tennyson's *Boadicea*.

Authors of Rome

Nero. Seneca retires into private life. Octavia is divorced, and Nero marries Poppæa. The murder of Octavia soon follows.¹ The Fire at Rome (A.D. 64), which wrought havoc in the narrow streets and crowded quarters, is described with great power. Suspicion of causing the outbreak is cast by Nero upon the Christians, the first mention in any non-Christian writer of our religion and our Lord, who is spoken of as Christus.² A large number of the Christians are put to death with great cruelty.

The conspiracy of Piso (A.D. 65) against Nero is betrayed. Several of the leading conspirators commit suicide, including Seneca, the minister, philosopher and author, and his nephew Lucan, author of the epic poem *Pharsalia*. The events of the same year are continued in the sixteenth book. Nero appears on the stage of the public theatre. Poppæa dies, as the result of Nero's violence. Various other deaths are recorded, leading Tacitus to apologise for the cowardice of the age. And there is the crowning iniquity of the deaths of Thræsea Pætus and Barea Soranus, men of whom the world was not worthy, with which the book ends.³

Tacitus possesses the special interest which belongs to those authors whose development can be traced through a number of works and over a number of years. His early, middle and late periods are all well defined. His outlook on life changes, and the style changes correspondingly. At first (in the *Dialogue*) his outlook on the world is one of normal contentment; the Empire may not be favourable to oratory,

¹ The drama *Octavia* is attributed to Seneca, but was written after Nero's death.

² xv. 44.

³ A.D. 66.

but it has compensating advantages in the safety of human life. The style of Tacitus in this period is modelled on Cicero. Then comes a sterner and harsher mood, probably due to the experiences recorded in the *Agricola*. Tacitus is now more of a moralist. He has come to hate the spectacle of unchecked power in the hands of a bad man, and to distrust human nature which could sink to such servility as that which the senate displayed under Domitian. His style is now based on the abrupt sentences of Sallust, who attacked the vices of his own time in biting epigram. The *Agricola* and the *Germania* both belong to this middle period, during which Tacitus is gradually forming his own manner. The *Histories* show a further development in the same direction ; but the tendency to epigram is kept in check by the necessity for continuous narrative. In the *Annals* the outlook has become one of unrelieved melancholy : the sadness of a profound analyst of character brooding over the degeneracy of his country. Tacitus hailed the accession of Trajan as a return to purer manners and freedom of speech ; but the reign of Vespasian, which he hailed with equal joy, had been followed by the despotism of Domitian. The Empire remains the rule of one man, on whom everything depended. Solitary power is a danger both to its holder and to his subjects. The style of the *Annals* corresponds to this mood, and is the perfect expression of bitter disillusionment. There is not so much narrative as in the *Histories* : but more analysis of character, more insinuation of motives. It is a style of infinite subtlety in detail, but with certain broad characteristics ; *brevity*, obtained partly by means of

Authors of Rome

omission of verbs and connecting particles ; *variety*, in words and construction ; *lack of rhythm*, due to absence of the Ciceronian period ; *poetical colour*, gained by the introduction of words and phrases from Virgil ; *novelty*, in the use of rare words, the adaptation, or literal translation, of Greek constructions.

The effect of these devices is to retain the attention of the reader. The same interpretation of character is presented to him from different aspects, but always with vigour, always with authority. At last he surrenders himself to the influence of Tacitus, and for a time is under a spell. Tacitus excludes all points of view but his own. He reads his own theories into every fresh fact. Macaulay is not more sure of himself. The English author who is nearest Tacitus in deliberate singularity of expression, combined with reliance on his own judgment, is Carlyle : but Tacitus is a greater master of point and epigram. Hence he has been more frequently translated into French than into English. He is an impressionist in language.

By this method of innuendo, Tacitus has imposed on the world a conception of the Imperial system, and of those who administered it, which was accepted implicitly until recent times. Tiberius, for example, was long regarded as a monster of depravity. More recently, it has been seen that the further Tacitus recedes from his own time the greater is the suspicion of unfairness. He seems to visit on the early emperors his feeling of repulsion at the cruelty of Domitian. "We look through the eyes of Tacitus on a wrecked world, viewed by him, and by the class he represented, with sombre fatalistic acquiescence."

The purpose of Tacitus is higher, however, than the indulgence of animosity towards the dead. It has a practical side : the teaching of political wisdom suited to the times. " Even under bad princes there can be good citizens " : the happy mean is attained by the man who is removed alike from perilous disrespect and loathsome servility, a man such as Agricola, who retained his dignity and his life even under Domitian. Tacitus could admire faith and courage wherever found. When the nobles of Rome were ready to betray their nearest relatives, a freedwoman or a slave girl would show an example of noble constancy under torture. But those who satisfy his ideal, especially in the *Annals*, are few. His dislikes are stronger than his likes. As in the case of Juvenal, we have to remind ourselves that there were men and women who led normal and useful lives, but of whom the historian and the satirist tell us nothing. And the provinces, of whose vast populations we hear little in Tacitus, were better governed under the Empire than under the republic. The general security of life and property, and the quickness and certainty of communication between the various parts of the Empire, contributed powerfully to the spread of Christianity.

The position of Tacitus among the historians of Rome is peculiar. In some respects he stands alone. But in the external features of style he was influenced, in his middle period, by Sallust ; in his later period by Virgil. The influence of Livy was considerable in forming Tacitus' conception of history. Both were moralists. Livy's aim was to lead men to avoid evil and choose the good, by exhibiting the consequences of good and of evil. The aim of Tacitus was to rescue

Authors of Rome

virtue from oblivion, and hold up the fear of future infamy to base words and deeds. In Livy, the period of the Empire, then beginning, is one in which Rome can neither endure the evils under which she labours nor the remedies which would be effectual in curing them. Tacitus holds a similar view in the *Agricola* and the *Histories*.

If there is no historian who is directly and strongly affected by Tacitus, there is also none who is not influenced in some degree. Even greater has been his popular appeal in Italy and France. At the period of the French Revolution, Tacitus was in the ascendant, as the enemy of tyrants.

Certain tendencies in history, as it was written before the Great War of 1914 to 1918, diminished the authority of Tacitus. His theory of a recurring cycle of politics, which he derived from the cosmical process of the Stoics, was contrary to the theory of indefinite progress, and of the perfectibility of the race, which prevailed in the years before 1914. Recent events, while not disproving that theory, have nevertheless revived interest in the older view, which was held by both Greek and Roman historians, namely, that history repeats itself, and that ambition and greed always tend to put a limit to progress. Another popular view of history before the war was that it was purely a science; but here again the importance of character, of morality, has been proved by the experience of recent years, and the ancient ethical conception of history is shown to have a real value.

The moral judgments of Tacitus are based upon a love of rectitude, and a hatred of injustice, which are of constant service to a country like our own, called

to high Imperial obligations like those of Rome, and holding her position in the world by the exercise of honour, disinterestedness, and justice towards the peoples for whose welfare she is responsible.

TRANSLATIONS :—

Dialogue on Oratory, Agricola, Germania : Loeb Library, 1914, Church and Brodribb (Macmillan).

Histories : Ramsay (John Murray), 1915 : contains valuable introduction. W. H. Fyfe (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 1902. Church and Brodribb (Macmillan).

Annals : Ramsay (John Murray), 1904 : contains valuable introduction. Church and Brodribb (Macmillan).

Other works :—

Dill : *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (Macmillan), 1905.

Haverfield : *Ford Lectures* (on the Roman occupation of Britain) revised by G. Macdonald : (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 1924.

Authors of Rome

On the education of children : the old way and the new. (Dialogues : ch. 28.)

At one time, every man who had a son born to him by a chaste mother, had him brought up, not in the den of some hired wet-nurse, but in his mother's arms, and upon her breast. Her great glory was to look after her home and attend to her children. Or else he selected some older relative, a woman of tried and proved character, to whom all the young children of the same family could be entrusted : and, in her presence, words that seemed improper, actions that seemed dishonourable, were forbidden. The mother, by her modesty and innocence, would regulate not only the studies and exercises of her children, but even their games and amusements. This is the way in which, so we are informed, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, Cæsar's mother Aurelia, and Augustus' mother, Atia, supervised the education of their sons, and trained them to play a leading part. This strict discipline had the object of making the disposition sound and pure, so that the boy could not be led astray by vice, but with all his mind would grasp useful knowledge. Whether his bent was the art of war, or jurisprudence, or oratory, he would occupy himself with that alone, and drink it in completely.

But to-day the infant is handed over at birth to some Greek serving-maid ; one slave or another out of the whole household, usually the most worthless, fit for no serious duty, is told off to assist her. The nursery tales and superstitions of such as these give a ply to young and tender minds : in all that house, no one cares in the least what he says or does before his baby master. Even the parents do not accustom their little ones to decorous conduct and modest behaviour, but to the unchecked banter that leads to the stealthy approach of impudence. It seems to me that the peculiar and characteristic vices of Rome, the passion for the theatre, the craze for gladiators and horses, are conceived, so to speak, in the mother's womb : and, when the mind is taken up with these

preoccupations, how little room is left for sound training? How few will you find who talk of anything else at home? What other objects of conversation do we overhear on the lips of young men when we go into lecture rooms? Even their professors talk of nothing so commonly with their pupils: for they get together an audience, not by strict discipline, nor proof of scholarly attainments, but by the servility of their greeting and the allurements of flattery.

Agricola's name shall live for ever. (Agricola: ch. 46.)

If there is a place for the spirits of the good, if, as the wise deem, great souls do not perish with the body, may you rest in peace. Recall us, your household, from weak regret and womanish lamentations to the study of your virtues, over which grief and wailing would be wrong.¹ Let us show our reverence not so much by transitory praises as by admiration and (if our natural powers are equal to the task) by imitation. This is true honour, this the duty of all most near to you. To your daughter and your wife I would give this counsel: so to venerate the memory of father and husband as to ponder over his every action and word, to treasure up the form and features of his mind even more than of his body. Not that I think we should forbid the use of busts wrought by the artist in marble or in bronze: yet, as the face of a man is subject to decay and death, so also are the images thereof. But the features of the mind are eternal—you may preserve and embody them not by the external medium of art of another but by your own character. What we loved, what we admired in Agricola endures, and will endure in the souls of men, in the eternity of the ages, an abiding glory. For many men of olden time have been whelmed in oblivion as though they had neither name nor fame. But Agricola, handed down in story to later generations, shall never die.

¹ Partly from Mackail, in *Legacy of Rome*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923.

Authors of Rome

Customs of the Germans. (Germania : ch. xxii.)

Immediately after repose, which they usually prolong far into the day, they bathe, as a rule in warm water, for winter fills the greater part of the year. They are luxurious in their meals : every man has his own seat, his own separate table. Then they go to their affairs, and just as often to banquets, armed : it is no disgrace to any man to spend a whole day and night in drinking. They have constant quarrels, the natural result of intoxication ; and these often result in wounds or death. But at table they also deliberate about the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of matrimonial alliances, the election of chieftainships, indeed about peace and war ; thinking that there is no time when the mind is more open to sincerity of thought, or more easily fired to heroic enterprise. They are not cunning nor worldly wise, and in the freedom of jest they unlock the hidden feelings of the heart : hence every man's purpose is naked and unconcealed : next day it comes under survey afresh, and the peculiar advantage of both occasions is maintained. They take counsel at a time when pretence is unknown to them ; they make up their minds when it is impossible for them to go wrong.

(Every German usage noticed in this chapter is in pointed contrast with Roman habits. A Roman of the upper class rose early, and took exercise before bathing. He and his friends reclined on the same couch : he must not go about armed in Rome. To drink before nightfall was a disgrace. Romans were more reserved than Germans).

Sack of Cremona by the troops of Vespasian. (Hist. : iii. 32.)

The other generals of Vespasian kept in the background : but Antonius, owing to his fame and his good fortune, was remarked by all. He hurried to the bath, to wash off the stains of blood. He complained that the water was cold : the reply " it will soon be hot enough " was caught

up : though said by the slave in attendance, it brought the whole odium of the deed on Antonius, on the supposition that he had given the signal for the firing of Cremona. The city, in fact, was already in flames.

Forty thousand armed men broke into Cremona, batmen and hucksters to an even greater number. They were ready for any licence, any vileness or barbarism. Rank and age were no defence : there was one long succession of murder and rape. Venerable old men, women spent with years, worthless as booty, were dragged out to make the soldier's sport. If a young woman came their way, or handsome boy, they would almost tear them in pieces in their violence, till at last the marauders destroyed each other. In dragging out for their own use treasure, or the heavy gold votive offerings of the temples, they were cut down and overpowered by others. Some despised loot easily won ; by the use of torture, or the scourge, they forced the owners of wealth to reveal its hiding place, and dug it up from where it was buried, torches in their hands. The torches, so soon as they had carried away their plunder, they would hurl, in sheer wantonness, into unoccupied houses and empty temples.

The army was composed of many nationalities with their different customs : citizens of Rome, allies, and foreigners all formed part of it. Their passions were not alike, their standards of right different, and nothing was held sacred. For the space of four days, Cremona kept the robbers busy.

Incident in a mutiny among Roman Soldiers.
(*Annals* : i. 22.) (The prison was broken into, and the deserters set free.)

Violence now became more open : the mutiny had more ringleaders : a common soldier, one Vibulenus, was lifted up in front of the general's tribunal. Standing on the shoulders of those about him, as they excitedly watched to see what he would do, he cried : " You have given the light and air of heaven to these unhappy men, who have done no wrong : but who will give my brother

Authors of Rome

his life again, or restore him to me ? He was sent to you, soldiers, by your comrades of the German army, on matters of interest to both ; but last night the chief had him murdered by his band of gladiators, whom he keeps ready armed to kill off his men. Answer me, Blæsus, where have you flung his dead body ? Even our enemies do not grudge us burial. When I have satisfied my aching heart with kisses and with tears, bid them kill me as well ; only, when I have been sacrificed for no fault, except that I studied the army's welfare, let them bury me." He made his words more emphatic by the tears he shed, by the blows showered on face and breast : but presently the men who carried him on their shoulders separated : down he came, and falling at the feet of one after another, made them so angry and so alarmed that some clapped irons on their general's slaves and gladiators, or on others of his household : some came rushing out to look for the body. And if it had not quickly become known that the body could not be found, that in face of torture the slaves persisted in denying the murder, indeed that Vibulenus never had a brother, they would soon have put an end to Blæsus. As it was, they drove out their junior officers, and the quarter-master-general. They looted the kits of those who ran away : they cut down the centurion Lucilius. In their jocular army slang they gave him the nickname "Give me another" : for when he had broken his cudgel on a soldier's back, he would loudly call for a second, and another after that.

(This passage is referred to by Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning* as an example of the power of acting. But in stating that Vibulenus had been an actor, which enabled him to play upon the feelings of his comrades, Bacon is confounding him with Pereennius. *Annals* : i. 16.)

The persecution of the Christians by Nero. (Annals : xv. 44.)

No power of man, nor bribes offered by Nero, not all his offerings made to appease the gods, succeeded in dissipating the breath of scandal. The fire, they believed,

was started at his bidding. So to stop their tongues, Nero provided them with scapegoats : he racked his invention to punish a set of men already detested for their abominations. For these the popular name was Christians. The founder of the sect was Christus, who had been put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the governor of Judæa, Pontius Pilate. The pestilent superstition was thus checked for a moment, but broke out once more, not only in Judæa, where it began, but in Rome as well, where everything that is wicked and shameful finds its way, and continues its operations. The first arrests were among those who admitted that they were Christians. They betrayed their fellows, and a vast number were condemned, not so much for setting fire to Rome as for hating all mankind. In their dying moments, their sufferings were made cause of merriment : they were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, and dogs tore them to death ; or they were nailed to the cross ; or fire was set to them, and as daylight faded, they were burnt to serve as lamps. Nero lent his park to afford a better sight of them : he also exhibited games in the circus, mixing with common folk in the dress of a charioteer, or riding in a chariot. And so though the Christians were guilty, and deserved the utmost severity, a feeling of pity began to spring up towards them. It was felt that no interest of state had led to their execution, but one man's cruel heart.

JUVENAL

DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS (JUVENAL) was born at Aquinum (80 miles S.E. of Rome). The dates of his birth (? A.D. 60) and of his death (? A.D. 140) are uncertain. His earliest satires dates from about A.D. 100. His latest satires are after A.D. 127 : in his fifteenth, he mentions the consul of that year.¹

There are several lives of Juvenal, which contradict one another on many points, but are agreed that Juvenal was banished from Rome : and they assign as the cause the resentment felt by the actor Paris at an allusion made to him in the seventh satire.

Between the years 92 and 102 the poet Martial² addressed several of his epigrams to Juvenal, whom he calls "eloquent," an allusion to his rhetorical training.

The sixteen satires are divided into five books, which were published separately. The first book consists of five satires : the second book of one satire, the sixth : Book iii contains three satires, the seventh, eighth and ninth : Book iv contains satires ten, eleven and twelve : Book v contains the last four (13 to 16).

The first satire is introductory. Juvenal proves by many examples that vice in Rome is at its zenith : he would prefer to say nothing, but indignation makes verses. He cannot refrain from writing satire. His subject is the whole of human life, men's pleasures,

¹ *Nuper Consule Iunco* : "not long ago, when Juncus was Consul."

² Martial has many topics in common with Juvenal : the needy client, the struggling man of letters, the noise of the streets, the legacy hunter.

hopes and fears. But, for safety's sake, he lays down the principle that only the dead are to be attacked. "I will see what liberty is allowed me against those whose ashes are buried beneath the Latin or Flaminian way" (an allusion to the sepulchres which lined the great roads leading out of Rome). The second satire is on forms of sensuality prevalent at the time: so also is the ninth.

The third is a description of the disadvantages and dangers of life at Rome, a subject often referred to by Latin writers, for instance, by Horace. Juvenal represents his friend Umbricius on the point of starting for Cumæ. He explains the causes which have driven him from Rome. Fires are constantly breaking out. The poor man loses his all in a fire. The rich man gets sympathy and help, presents of statuary, or marble to build the new house: it would pay *him* to burn his house deliberately. Then again living is very dear at Rome compared with the country towns of Italy. The rent of a garret at the top of a Roman lodging-house (in which the middle and lower classes lived) would buy a house and garden in the country. Rome is full of poor people trying to keep up appearances in "pretentious poverty." The man of slender means can get no comfort or peace in Rome. At night there is the rumbling of carts, the noisy altercations of drivers held up in the narrow streets, so that sleep was a costly luxury. Walking in the streets was slow and dangerous by day: the pedestrian may be struck in the side by a plank, or have his feet trampled on by a soldier's heavy boot, or even be crushed beneath a waggon load of stone. At night another form of

Authors of Rome

danger arises: he may be struck on the head by things thrown out of windows, or attacked by thieves, or by insolent bullies, profligate young men who roam the streets annoying innocent persons. Highwaymen, when rounded up in their haunts outside the city, come to Rome as to their "preserves."

This is one of Juvenal's most vigorous satires.¹ In it we meet with a new type, the foreigner in Rome. With the Empire a change has come over Rome: She is now the capital of the world. Men of different races meet in her streets. Many Orientals come there: "the Syrian Orontes has long since begun to empty its waters into the Tiber": Rome receives the off-scourings of the population of Antioch. But above all there are many Greeks: from Macedonia and Achæa, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Ægean, they come prepared to live by their wits, and to gain the confidence of rich men. Flattery is easy to a Greek: he does it more naturally and convincingly than the Roman: so he becomes the trusted servant of his patron; and the poor Roman dependant goes to the wall. "The starving Greek knows everything. He is a grammarian or rhetorician, an engineer, a painter, or a trainer of gymnasts: an augur or rope dancer, a physieian or a magician. Bid him go to heaven, and to heaven he will go."²

The fourth satire has for its subject a meeting of the Imperial Council, presided over by Domitian. The members of the council are summoned in haste

¹ Imitated by Samuel Johnson in his poem "London."

² The reference is to Dædalus, the mythical Greek inventor, who was the first to use wings.

to the Emperor's "citadel" at Alba. They are described one by one: the prefect of the city, say rather its bailiff: Rome is the Emperor's farm, the prefect his maniple. Fuscus, the brave soldier, who will soon leave his bones to the Dacian vultures to devour: Crispus, old and gentle, who owes his life to the meekness with which he yielded to the current, not daring to express his real sentiments or stake his life upon the truth: the blind Catullus, an informer, "a portent even in our times": Pompeius, "who often slits men's throats with a whisper." These are the men who hurry along the Appian Way at midnight, and meet in the imperial villa, asking one another "what news? why this unexpected summons?" While they wait to be admitted, a huge turbot is brought in, a present to Domitian. It gains admission, they remain outside. When at last the council is allowed to enter, the question proposed to them is whether the fish shall be cut in pieces, or served up whole, on some large dish made specially in its honour. The dish was duly voted: and the satirist adds that, if Domitian's hatred and contempt of the senate had been confined to such acts, some of the noblest Romans would have been spared. But when common men grew to fear the Emperor, it was his turn to die.

In the fifth satire, Juvenal describes in great detail an "unequal" dinner party given by a patron to his client, as a reward for long and faithful service in the performance of his *officium*, or social duties. The client has to endure rebuffs and scorn for the sake of a wretched dinner; he is given a seat "below the salt." The food and drink which are placed in front of him are not so good as those served to his host: and he

Authors of Rome

is watched to see that he does not put one of the drinking cups in his pocket. Such conduct is not due to carelessness on the host's part. He means to mortify his guest. But the fault lies with the client ; if he can put up with such affronts, he deserves them.

The sixth satire is among the most powerful : it describes the follies and vices, of women. It has been called a "Legend of Bad Women." It is a complete indictment : Juvenal has not a good word to say of any of them. He describes those who fall in love with actors, gladiators and musicians : those who affect Greek, and pretend to know no Latin : those who tyrannize over their husbands, those who have eight husbands in five years : the literary lady who, when she goes out to dinner, makes comparison between Homer and Virgil, while philologists are deafened by her clamour, which is like the noise of basins and bells. Messalina, wife of Claudius, is taken as the type of female sensuality. Juvenal mentions ladies of good family who dressed as gladiators and fought in the amphitheatre : he ridicules other women who fall under the influence of any impostor from the East, such as priests of Isis, or Babylonian astrologers. He mentions the cruelty which high-born ladies show towards their maids when in a bad temper. Love of finery and gossip, pride of family, are common failings with women.

The seventh satire describes the struggles and poverty of men of letters : the only hope of improvement lay with the Emperor (Hadrian). Other patrons will do next to nothing for the poet : they may lend him a house where he can read his poetry aloud, to an audience composed of the rich man's

freedmen : but the house is a long way off, and the poet has to pay for the hire of the benches. There is no Mæcenas nowadays : the best poets, like Statius, have to write verses to order for the stage to get a living. Historians are worse off than the poets. Their task is more laborious, they use more paper, and they earn less. Who will give a historian as much as he pays to the slave who reads out the daily newspaper at dinner ? The rhetoricians are miserably paid : and have got to listen to the same stock subjects over and over again—"should Hannibal march straight to Rome from Cannæ ?" The schoolmaster comes last in the list : he is in the worst plight of all. He is expected to be a walking encyclopædia : to know all histories and authors "like his fingers and toes," to be able to tell offhand the name of Anchises' nurse, or Anchemolus' stepmother, to say how long Acestes lived, how many jars of wine he presented to the Trojans. The schoolmaster, again, must be a model of propriety, and must keep a close watch on the behaviour of his class. Then, at the year's end, he gets as much as a jockey, or gladiator, receives for one performance.

The eighth satire is on the subject of "virtue the only nobility." Be like Cossus, Drusus, Paullus in your *character*.

"The rank is but the guinea stamp,
A man's a man for a' that."

If you go to govern a province, keep your hands from stealing. Don't let your wife take bribes. The provincials have lost nearly everything : but they have got their weapons still. Roman nobles, drinking

Authors of Rome

in some common tavern, or fighting as gladiators, are a disgrace to their order. Nero was the worst offender : he killed his mother, and his wife : but his greatest crime was writing an epic on Troy, and singing in public.

Catiline was of good birth : Cicero, who detected and punished the conspiracy, was not. Nor was Marius, yet the honour of beating the Cimbri fell to him, not to his aristocratic colleague. The Decii, who gave their lives for their country, were plebeian: " You had better be the son of Thersites, and able to wield the arms of Achilles, than have Achilles for your father, and be a Thersites yourself." The founders of Rome were shepherds.

The subject of the tenth satire is the "vanity of human wishes": what seems to be best is often worst, and men do not know what is best for them. They are ruined if the gods take them at their word. Love of power is a vain thing: witness the fall of Sejanus, when a "long wordy letter" came from Capreæ (where Tiberius was staying). He was hurried off to prison and executed, while the people hurled down his statues, and melted them to make pots and saucepans. Love of military renown is vain: witness the fate of Hannibal, who had to take poison to save himself from the Romans. "Cannæ was avenged—by a ring" (which held the poison). Love of oratorical renown is vain: witness the fate of Cicero and Demosthenes. To pray for old age, or for beauty in one's children, is vain. Old age is a misery: beauty is often a fatal possession. We come at last to the moral that we ought to pray for a "healthy mind in a healthy body," and a courageous spirit free from fear

of death, which regards mere length of years as nature's smallest boon; a spirit that will brave any toil, knowing not anger nor desire, preferring the labours of Hercules to the feather-bed of Sardana-pallus. A magnificent peroration to a noble poem. Johnson's imitation¹ has been called the most Roman poem in our language.

The eleventh satire is an invitation to a simple dinner, and ridicules the prevalent luxury at table, contrasting it with the old republican times when a dinner of vegetables was good enough for Curius Dentatus, when the censor's power was really felt in restraint of excess. The cups and dishes will be inexpensive: the boy who serves us will be home-bred, not a costly minion from Phrygia, but the son of a hardy shepherd or neatherd, sighing for his mother whom he has not seen for years, longing for his little hut, or the kids his play-fellows, a child of ingenuous face, and ingenuous modesty.

The twelfth celebrates the safe return of a friend from a voyage, and describes the dangers of the ocean: it also satirises (after Horace's example) those who pay court to the rich and childless with a view to legacies. The thirteenth satire consoles a friend who has been cheated of a sum of money: such crimes are common, it is absurd to make a fuss over such a trifle. Only small minds desire revenge: it is a feminine weakness. The thief may be left to his own devices: he will probably go on to other crimes, and come to a bad end. The fourteenth satire shows the power for evil of a father's example, especially in regard to avarice. "The greatest reverence is due

¹ *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

Authors of Rome

to a child." The fifteenth describes the power of superstition, as exhibited in a quarrel between the inhabitants of two towns in Upper Egypt at a religious feast. The attacking force is driven away: one of them is taken prisoner, and devoured by his captors. The sixteenth is brief: it sketches the advantages of a soldier's life, in the honour paid to him, the high pay, the favour shown to him in litigation against civilians.

The picture of Society which the satires present to us is depressing. Men are fools or knaves, women are bold and depraved. The vigour of Juvenal's language makes us ready to believe that there were few modest, peaceable, honest persons to be found in Rome. But it must be remembered that his style is rhetorical: that he writes to make an effect; he is fond of *sententiæ* (epigrams), and these are not so effective when written about ordinary individuals. The rhetorician prefers extremes either of good or evil, the satirist writes of the evil rather than the good. The quiet and well-conducted majority are put in the shade by the vices of the extravagant minority.

Juvenal's manner as a satirist has been studied in conjunction with Horace. We can believe Juvenal when he says that indignation made him write. In temper he was a plebeian. He hated the degenerate noble, as Tacitus did: but he hated still more the insolent *parvenu*, the new rich, and the new officials, who were more irritating to plebeians than to aristocrats. We can believe him to be speaking from personal experience of the hardships and vexations to which poor men were exposed, hurrying in the early morning to receptions at great houses: a guest at

the dinners described in his fifth satire, where a cheap vintage and poor fare were good enough for the "client": patronised by the rich amateur in letters, who listened to his verses in order to procure a listener for his own: pushed aside by clever unscrupulous Greeks with plenty of effrontery, a ready wit, and nimble tongue.

Juvenal's later satires are free from the personal motive and have lost the declamatory tone. They breathe a lofty morality in advance of the time. He denounces the cruelty shown towards slaves, he feels for provincials robbed and ill-treated by those who govern them. Tenderness is the gift which separates man most widely from the brute creation. Sympathy and mutual help are needed: not the brutal passions of an Egyptian mob incensed with religious fanaticism and the lust of blood. The guilty conscience which haunts a man when he is alone, when only "the stars fix upon him their witnessing gaze," the origin of sin in evil thoughts, the power of example in the home, are ideas which have become familiar to us from the teaching of Christianity. Juvenal evolved them, in their Roman form, for himself.

It has been well said¹ that Juvenal in his moral tone unites the spirit of two different ages. The earlier satires are written from the standpoint of a Roman, with the usual conventionalities and prejudices of his class, stronger with plebeians than with a man of aristocratic leanings. This is the Juvenal of the first, third, seventh, eighth satires, where the note is clearest. In the tenth we seem to pass from the circle of Roman ideas: the vanity of human

¹ By Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 64.

Authors of Rome

wishes is illustrated as much from Carthage, Macedon, or Athens as from Rome : the moral at the end of this satire is without date or country : the stout heart free from fear of death is an aspiration for all men. The later satires develop the sense of the equality and brotherhood of man, a morality which embraces the whole world.

Much of the conduct assailed by Juvenal is not vicious but only eccentric. The sixth satire is an example. He is as much shocked by the "new woman" as by the wicked woman. The bluestocking who is able to discuss the merits of Homer and Virgil is as displeasing to him as a Messalina. Pride of birth and love of jewellery earns as heavy censure as moral turpitude. He would like to cancel all the measures of emancipation which had gradually freed Roman matrons from the power of their husbands. Independence, social and financial, combined with education, had made a great change in the outlook of women. Livia, wife of Augustus, Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, the younger Agrippina, wife of Claudius, were women of vigorous mind and strong character, who had made themselves a power in the Roman world. Juvenal's indignation at this development, with which he had no sympathy, leads him to visit with his censure every manifestation of woman's right to her independent life and to her private judgment.

Juvenal is one of the greatest satirists that ever wrote. He makes a frontal attack upon sin : he exposes motives by stripping off the mask of pretence. The vice that conceals itself beneath the appearance of virtue, or shelters under the cover of a famous

family, is ruthlessly laid bare. He has a robust hatred of all that is base or petty, anything that is un-Roman.

The vigorous and manly wit of Juvenal has commended him to our English satirists : Donne, Dryden, Johnson have all imitated his vivid imagination, his trenchant strokes, and his strong moral appeal.

TRANSLATIONS :—

Verse : Dryden (Satires 1, 3, 6, 10, 16) with the *Discourse on Satire*. W. Gifford, 1802 : reprinted in Temple Classics, 1906. Prose : A. Leeper (*fourteen satires*), Macmillan, 1912. Owen (*thirteen satires*), Methuen, 1924.

Other works :—

Dill : *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1905, Book i, ch. 2.

Duff : Introduction to his Edition of the Satires (Cambridge University Press).

Authors of Rome

*The dole*¹. (i. 117.)

When the holder of the highest office reckons at the end of the year what the dole brings in, how much it adds to his receipts, what must the clients do, to whom the dole means clothes, shoes, food, fuel? A close packed row of litters has come for its 100 *quadrantes*: the wife accompanies her husband: he takes her round even if she is ill, or near her confinement. One man, a sly old customer, tries to get the money for his wife who is not there: he points to the litter which is empty, with curtains drawn, pretending that she is inside. "It is my Galla," he says: "Let us get away quickly. Are you dissatisfied? Galla, put your head out." "O don't disturb her, she's probably asleep."

Dangers of the Roman streets. (iii. 268.)

Now consider other perils of the night, of a different kind: the height of those tall roofs whence a tile comes down, hitting you on the head: the number of leaky or broken pots that fall from the windows, the weight with which they dint and bruise the pavement. You may well be thought negligent, heedless of sudden mischance, if you go out to dine without making your will. There is a death in every window that stares wide open as you go past. So you had better pray Heaven and carry your pathetic appeal with you, that they will be satisfied with pouring out the (liquid) contents of their broad basins. The drunken bully who, as it happens, has not yet killed his man, goes through a night of remorse like that of Achilles mourning for Patroclus, and lying now on his face, now upon his back. He cannot rest without a fight: some people find that a quarrel makes them sleepy. But even in the boldness of youth and the heat

¹ The patron, instead of asking his client to dinner as in Satire V, sometimes gave him at the morning reception a dole of food, which he carried away in a basket called *sportula*, whence the dole itself was so called. Or a gift in money (100 *quadrantes*=25 *asses*) might be made.

of wine, he avoids the man whose purple robe and long line of followers warn him to keep away, together with the bright torches and brazen lamps. As I am shown home by moonlight or the struggling beam of a candle, whose wick I spare in economic mood, he has no fear of *me*. Learn the prelude of this sorry dispute, if dispute it be in which you do the beating, I merely bear the blows. He stands opposite you, and cries "Halt!" You have to obey. What are you to do, when a madman forces you, by superior strength? "Where do you come from?" he cries; whose vinegar and beans have made you so bloated? What cobbler has joined you in a dish of leeks and boiled sheep's head? Won't you answer? Tell me or take a kicking. Where is your begging-pitch? what synagogue shall I find you in?" Whether you try to speak, or go away without a word, it is all the same. They beat you in any case: then they lose their temper, and make you give bail. This is the poor man's "freedom." When they beat him he desires them, when they bruise him with their fists he implores them, to let him go home with a *few* teeth.

The vanity of military ambition. (x. 147.)

Put Hannibal in the balance: and how many pounds will you find to be the weight of that great leader of men? This is he whom Africa cannot contain, where the Western Ocean beats upon her, or where she closes on the steaming Nile, or back, south to the Æthiopian folk, where the breed of elephant is different.¹ To his rule Spain is added: and over the Pyrenees he leaps. Nature bars his way with Alpine snows. He cleaves the rocks, and splits the mountain side with vinegar. Now he has his hand on Italy: yet he presses onwards still. "Nothing has been achieved," he cries, "unless my soldiers burst the gates of Rome, and I plant my standard in the heart of the Subura." What a sight, what a picture it would make, the Gætulian elephant carrying the general-with-one-eye!² What then

¹ West, east or south.

² Hannibal lost the sight of an eye in his early Italian campaigns.

Authors of Rome

was the end ? Out on thee, Fame ! He, too, in turn was vanquished : into exile headlong he flies, and there, great and wonderful, near the king's palace, he sits a suitor, until the lord of Bithynia choose to open his eyes. A period to that life which once embroiled the world will be put not by sword, stone, or spear, but by the avenger of all the blood that was poured out at Cannæ—a ring. Go then, madman, hurry across the dangers of the Alps, to be applauded by boys, and be turned into a subject for rhetoric.

INDEX

The references are to the pages: etc. after a number means "and following pages."

- Academy (New), 73
 Actium, 135
 Adherbal, 142, etc.
 Æneas, 163, etc., 222
 Æschines, 67
 Agricola, 281, etc.
 Agrippina, 249, etc., 293
 Alcæus, 179
 Alexander the Great, 14, 228
 Alexandria, 99, 109, etc.
 Allobroges, 58, 138
 Amata, 165
 Ambrose, Saint, 79
 Anaxagoras, 90
 Anchises, 164
 Antonius (the orator), 70, etc.
 Antony, Mark, 57, 66, etc.
 Aratus, 79
 Archias, 59
 Archilochus, 177
 Ariosto, 211, etc.
 Aristophanes, 13, 17
 Aristotle, 70, etc.
 Arnold, Matthew, 155
 — Thomas, 238
 Arpinum, 54
 Ascanius, 164, etc.
 Ascham, 80, 273
 Asiatic oratory, 69, 71
 Athens, 13, 177, 200
 Attic oratory, 71
 Atticus, 71, etc., 88
 Augustine, Saint, 79
 Augustus (the Emperor), 150,
 etc., 177, etc., 201, 220, 258,
 290

 Bacon, Francis, 70, 260, etc.
 — Roger, 260
 Balzac, H. de, 18
 Baron, 40, 46
 Beaumarchais, 19
 Boccaccio, 211
 Bocchus, 141
 Boileau, 186, 190, 193
 Bossuet, 80

 Boudicca (Boadicea), 295
 Bourdaloue, 80
 Britain, 123, 282, 293
 Britannicus, 294
 Brueys, 43
 Brundisium, 64, 150, 187
 Brutus (the consul), 223
 — (the liberator), 66, etc., 177
 Burke, 55, 80
 Burns, 107
 Burrus, 248, 261, 293
 Byron, 190

 Cæcilius (comic poet), 37
 — (friend of Verres), 54
 Cælius, 60, 77, 106
 Cæsar, 58, etc., 118, etc., 135,
 etc.
 his life, 119
Gallic War, 120
Civil War, 125
 style, 127
 importance, 128
 Caligula, 289
 Callimachus, 99, 110, 207
 Calvus, 106
 Camillus, 226
 Cannæ, 231, 313
 Caractacus, 293
 Carlyle, 298
 Cassius, 66, 121
 Cassivellaunus, 123
 Catiline, 57, etc., 136, etc.
 Cato the elder, 75, 118, 161
 the younger, 58, 71, 138
 Catullus, 78, 99, 106, etc., 169
 his work, 106
 his influence, 112
 Cervantes, 19
 Chatham, Earl of, 55
 Chaucer, 71, 212, 261
 Christians, 296, 306
 Cicero, Marcus, 38, 47, 52, etc.
 speeches, 52, etc.
 oratorical works, 70
 philosophy, 72, etc.

Authors of Rome

- Cicero, Marcus, letters, 55, 75,
 etc.
 verse, 78
 influence, 79
 Cilicia, 63
 Cinna (the poet), 106, 112
 — Lucius, 255
 Civilis, 288
 Claudius (the Emperor), 251,
 258, 289, etc.
 Cleopatra, 127
 Clodia, 60, 106
 Clodius, 59, etc.
 Cluentius, 55
 Columella, 160
 Comedy (Athenian), 13, etc.
 Congreve, 47, etc.
 Coriolanus, 224
 Corneille, 222, 256, 264
 Cowley, 182
 Cowper, 76, 185, 205, 295
 Crassus (orator), 70, 84
 — (triumvir), 60
 Cratinus, 13
 Cumberland, 45

 Dalton, 94
 Dante, 171, 211, 261
 Deiotarus, 65
 Democritus, 90, etc.
 Demosthenes, 67, 69
 De Musset, 108
 De Quincey, 80
 Diderot, 48, 262
 Dido, 163, etc.
 Domitian, 270, 297, 310
 Dryden, 23, 161, etc., 182, 188

 Empedocles, 90
 Ennius, 91, 100, 118, 163, etc.,
 185
 Epicureans, 73
 Epicurus, 90, etc.
 Erasmus, 79, 273
 Eupolis, 13
 Euripides, 90, 208, 263
 Evander, 165

 Fabius (cunctator), 231
 Farquhar, 47
324
- Felix, 294
 Flamininus, 234
 Fontaine, 43
 Fox, 55
 Fracastoro, 95
 Fulvia, 68

 Galba, 286
 Gallus, 153, 203
 Garnier, 263
 Garrick, 45
 Gay, 181
 Germanicus, 290
 Gibbon, 80, 237, etc.
Gorboduc, 264
 Gracchus, Gaius, 71
 Gray, 76, 99, 182, 295

 Hannibal, 230, etc., 314, 321
 Hastings, Warren, 55
 Heraclitus, 90
 Hérédia, 182
 Herodotus, 241
 Hesiod, 155, etc.
 Hirtius, 67, etc., 121
 Homer, 90, 150, etc., 208
 Horace, 38, 47, 107, 177, etc.
 Odes, 179
 Satires, 184
 Epistles, 190
 contrasted with Juvenal, 188
 Hortensius, 52, etc.

 Jerome, Saint, 79, 90
 Jodelle, 263
 Johnson, 80, 186, 310, 315
 Jonson, Ben, 24, 136, 265
 Jugurtha, 140, etc.
 Juvenal, 308, etc.
 his manner, 316

 Kingsley, 214
 Kyd, 264

 Lælius, 37, 47, 75
 La Fontaine, 199
 Lamb, 209
 Landor, 262
 Larivey, 24
 Latinus, 165

- Lavinia, 165
 Leconte de Lisle, 182
 Le Sage, 19
 Lesbia, 106, etc.
 Ligarius, 65
 Livia, 291
 Livius Andronicus, 16
 Livy, 162, 220, etc., 299
 his work, 221
 his ideals, 229
 his influence, 237
 his merits, 239
 Lodge, 262
 London, 295
 Lucan, 171, 209, 211, 296
 Lucilius (friend of Seneca), 250
 — (satirist), 177, etc.
 Lucretia, 207, 223
 Lucretius, 73, 79, 90, etc.
 his work, 91
 his influence, 94
 contrasted with Virgil, 100
 Lucullus, 143
 Luscus Lanuvinus, 39
 Luther, 273
 Lyons, 128
 Lysias, 72

 Macaulay, 230, 298
 Machiavelli, 228, 237
 Macrobius, 74
 Mæcenas, 150, etc., 177, etc.
 Maeterlinck, 160
 Manilius, 56
 Manlius Torquatus, 109
 Mantua, 150
 Marcellus (Hannibal's foe), 231
 — (Cicero's friend), 65
 — (the young), 171, 292
 Marius, 136, etc.
 Marivaux, 39
 Marston, 265
 Martial, 308
 Masinissa, 141, 233
 Massilia, 127, 281
 Massillon, 80
 Memmius, 90
 Menander, 14, 28, 38, 47
 Messalina, 292, 312
 Metellus, 141

 Micipsa, 141, 147
 Milan, 150
 Milo, 61, etc.
 Milton, 96, 153, etc., 172, 274
 Mithridates, 56, 143
 Molière, 14, 19, 20, 23, 29, 31, 44,
 etc.
 Mommsen, 78
 Montaigne, 256, 261
 Montesquieu, 237
 Morris, Wm., 214
 Murena, 59

 Nævius, 17, 23, 118
 Naples, 150
 Nepos, Cornelius, 106
 Nero (Consul), 232
 — (Emperor), 248, etc., 293, etc.
 Nervii, 122, etc.
 Niebuhr, 228, 238

 Octavia, 251, 293
 Omar Khayyám, 96
 Oppianicus, 56
 Oppian law, 234
 Otho, 286, etc.
 Ovid, 108, etc., 200, etc.
 works, 202
 influence, 211

 Padua, 220
 Pallas, 166
 Pansa, 67, etc.
 Pasteur, 95
 Paul, Saint, 260
 Paullus, Æmilius, 236
 Pepys, 76
 Perilla, 213
 Perseus, 236
 Persius, 188
 Petrarch, 59, 77, 79, 261
 Pharsalus, 64, 127
 Philemon, 14
 Philippi, 150, 177
 Pindar, 182
 Pitt, 55
 Plancius, 61
 Plato, 70, etc.
 Plautus, 13, etc.
 works, 17, etc.

Authors of Rome

- Plautus, influence, 28
 Pliny (elder), 259
 — (younger), 76, 220, 270, 278
 Plutarch, 224, 255
 Poggio, 59, 77, 273
 Polybius (historian), 238, etc.
 — (the freedman), 250, etc.
 Pompeii, 202
 Pompey, 50, etc.
 Pontius Pilate, 294, 307
 Pope, 111, 186, etc., 215
 Poppæa Sabina, 294
 Prior, 181
 Propertius, 200, etc.
 Pyrrhus, 15, 230

 Quintilian, 63, 69, 72, 144, 203,
 220, 270, etc.
 works, 270
 influence, 273

 Rabelais, 19
 Racine, 256, 264
 Regnier, 187, etc.
 Renaissance, 77, 211
 Rhine, 125
 Ronsard, 180
 Roscius, 53
 Rousseau, 262

 Sallust, 57, 135, etc.
 —works, 136, etc.
 style, 139
 influence, 141, 297
 Sappho, 179
 Sassia, 55
 Satire, 15, 184, etc., 308, etc.
 Scævola, 52
 Scipio Africanus (elder), 231, 245
 — (younger), 37, 48, 73, 85
 Sedley, 43
 Sejanus, 291
 Sempronia, 137, 144, 146
 Seneca, 76, 209, 220, 248, etc.
 works, 250, etc.
 influence, 261
 Sertorius, 143
 Sestius, 60
 Sévigné, Madame de, 76
 Shadwell, 45

 Shakespeare, 19, 21, 23, 169,
 207, 209, 212, 224, 263, 265
 Shelley, 155
 Sheridan, 25, 55
 Shirley, 210
 Sibyl, 165
 Sicily, 53
 Smollett, 19
 Sophocles, 193, 263
 Sophonisba, 233
 Spenser, 155, 212, etc.
 Statius, 171
 Steele, 40
 Stoics, 73, 186, etc., 249, 258
 Suetonius Paullinus, 295
 Sulla, 53, 135, etc.
 Sulpicius, 59, 67, 77
 Swift, 186
 Swinburne, 182, 214
 Syphax, 233

 Tacitus, 144, 278, etc.
 —works, 279, etc.
 influence, 300
 Taine, 237
 Tarentum, 15, etc., 232
 Tasso, 211
 Tennyson, 90, 97, 107, etc., 172,
 182, 295
 Terence, 16, etc., 37, etc.
 —works, 38, etc.
 influence, 47
 Terentia, 65, 77, 87
 Tertullian, 261
 Thackeray, 190
 Thapsus, 71
 Theocritus, 151, etc.
 Thucydides, 90, 143, etc.
 Tiber, 165
 Tiberius, 201, 289, etc.
 Tibullus, 200, etc., 216
 Tibur (Tivoli), 180
 Tiro, 76, etc.
 Tullia, 65, 78, 87
 Turnus, 165
 Tusculum, 71

 Udall, Nicholas, 29

 Vanbrugh, 47

Index

Varro, 185, etc.
Veii, 226
Venusia, 177
Vercingetorix, 121, etc.
Verona, 106
Vespasian, 270, 281, etc.
Virgil, 79, 100, 110, etc., 150,
 etc., 171, 177
 Ecloques, 151
 Georgics, 155

Virgil, *Æneid*, 161
 Dryden on Virgil, 169
Vitellius, 286, etc.
Voltaire, 186, 259

Walpole, Horace, 76
Watteau, 181
Wolsey, 249
Wordsworth, 157, 182
Wycherley, 47, 262





9780155058651
2016-02-12 15:19

22